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Yeltsin, Clinton Discuss START II Over Telephone

OW0401181193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1742 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton talked on the phone on Monday. The Russian President's press service has said Bill Clinton spoke highly of the START-2 treaty, describing it as a historic event of the 20th century. He said that he would exert every effort to translate the provisions of that exclusively important treaty into reality.

The need was emphasized for an early working meeting of the Russian and U.S. Presidents as soon as Bill Clinton takes office in order to avoid a pause in practical measures to effect the START-2 treaty President Yeltsin and President Bush signed in Moscow on January 3.

Officials, Papers Comment on START II Treaty

Kozyrev on Retention of SS-18 Silos

OW0401151593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1448 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The most difficult aspect of drafting START-2 was to coordinate the principles of counting the nuclear components subject to reduction in real terms, Russia's Foreign Minister, Andrey Kozyrev, told DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. He referred, as an example, to the American B-52 bomber, which was viewed as one unit at first, and later as 20. According to the foreign minister, "the total amount of strategic offensive weapons subject to reduction had to be assigned to categories, and finally this was achieved."

It was also important to agree on a mechanism for inspection complicated by the possibility of "dual marking," which allows the Americans to turn their conventional bombers into nuclear-capable ones. "I cannot say that we do not trust each other; however, trust but verify, as the saying goes," A. Kozyrev said.

The game of "who deceives who" went on for decades, he said. "At that time inspection was viewed as something insulting, as an attempt to trap the partner. Now everything is different: control is an element of guarantee. The two sides agreed to such measures of control that they had not even dreamed of," said A. Kozyrev.

He qualified the fact that Russia managed to retain silos for the SS-18 missiles as "unprecedented." "One should bear in mind that for the Americans everything connected with the SS-18 missiles symbolized the Soviet military threat. That was fear bordering on schizophrenia." Nevertheless the USA took Russia's economic difficulties into account and agreed with its stand.

START-2 required "psychological restructuring" on the part of the two countries' experts engaged in resolving disarmament problems. He compared them with chess players, and the process of talks with a game of chess. "This time all the best was taken into account, and some stereotypes that made it hard to come to terms had to be broken. For the experts the knight suddenly began to move as the bishop does," said A. Kozyrev.

Kozyrev, Eagleburger Hopeful on Ukraine Pledges

LD0201214593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 2 Dec 92

[Video report by V. Budnikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Following the ceremonial reception in the Kremlin, Lawrence Eagleburger and James Baker went to Andrey Kozyrev for a private dinner. Answering questions from the U.S. television company CNN, the head of Russia's foreign policy department expressed the hope that in the end Ukraine will indeed fulfill all its commitments regarding nuclear weapons. This issue, naturally, is of fundamental significance for Russia.

According to his opposite number, the United States, for its part, is confident that Ukraine will ratify the agreement on strategic offensive weapons this very year. The ministers promised more detailed information at tomorrow's news conference.

NATO Secretary General Praises Treaty

LD0301164493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1419 GMT 3 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels January 3 TASS—NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner highly assessed the START II Treaty signed on Sunday in Moscow by the Russian and U.S presidents.

The treaty signals a decisive phase on the path of strengthening strategic stability and is a proof of new constructive relations between the United States and Russia, Woerner said in a statement distributed here today.

The NATO secretary general expressed hope that the treaty will be quickly ratified by legislators of both countries and will come into force in the near future.

Strategic Research Official Views Implications

OW0401152093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1449 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The implementation of START-2 will cost Russia and the USA hundreds of millions of dollars, the vice-president of the Russian Institute for Strategic Research

and a member of the London-based Institute for Strategic Research, Aleksandr Saveliyev, told DP [Diplomatic Panorama].

The treaty provides not only for scrapping two-thirds of Russian and American strategic offensive weapons, but also for altering the silos and for converting missiles with multiple warheads into single warhead missiles. "This will involve enormous expenditure," the expert stressed.

Nevertheless, the treaty will lead to saving a lot of funds in the long run, he said. "If offensive weapons are radically reduced, the expenses for their maintenance, servicing, replacement, and the like will decrease respectively," he said.

The expert shares the view that after cuts in strategic offensive weapons, the USA and Russia will reach the level of the late 1960's and early 1970's, regarding the quantity of warheads. "But the quality and structure of weapons will be different, of course," said A. Saveliyev. The fact that the upcoming alterations answer to the "criterion of strategic stability" is "extremely important," he said. "Only the high rates of the planned changes might give rise to certain doubts," the expert said.

According to him, after the cuts the nuclear potential of Russia and the USA will not be compatible with that of Britain, China and France. "France, which by the beginning of next century will have, say, 400 to 500 nuclear warheads, will hardly agree to join the process of nuclear disarmament, since by that time Russia and the USA will have 3000 to 3500 such warheads each," said A. Saveliyev.

Summit Seen as Sign of 'Growing Trust'

LD0201065193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0635 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 2 TASS—U.S. President George Bush arrives in Moscow today on a two-day visit. A Russian-U.S. Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START-2) is expected to be signed during the visit.

The treaty which was hammered out into final shape by the Russian and U.S. foreign ministers at the Geneva talks in the run-up to the new year, envisages reducing the sides' strategic offensive armaments by two thirds.

In the virtually unanimous view of experts and news analysts, the present meeting is evidence of growing trust between the two countries and the completion of the transition from the cold war to mutually advantageous partnership.

Treaty Termed 'Requiem to the Cold War'

LD0301134593 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Commentary by Sergey Frolov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Moscow met and saw off U.S. President George Bush with a hard frost. However, the [START II] Treaty signed in the Russian capital is a kind of requiem to the cold war. And we still have to recognize that in comparison with those periods of which we have unpleasant memories when talks on arms cuts began, the world has changed a great deal now, although it would seem that we have simply returned to the level of nuclear arsenals of the 1960's and early 1970's. Regardless of the level of the nuclear threshold on which Russia and the United States will stand at the beginning of the 21st century, the policy of nuclear disarmament should be dominated by single-mindedness.

A serious factor that should not be ignored in the military doctrine of Russia tomorrow is the threatened spread not only of nuclear weapons but also of missile technology. The export of the latter and its use in a number of developing countries is creating a new situation. In individual states the opportunity is arising of creating not simply a nuclear but also a nuclear missile potential. Thus the complete elimination of Russia's nuclear weapons will be possible, not only given their destruction by other states, but also given the elimination of the threat of them spreading.

Another thing is also clear. The formation of new international relations will be long and complex. A balance of interests is to be created instead of a balance of military force. Thus, the center of gravity of world politics will inevitably shift from the military and strategic sphere to commercial and economic problems.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Welcomes Signing

PM0401123793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 93 p 1

[Pavel Shinkarenko report under general headline: "Main Event of 1993. START II Treaty Signed in Moscow Cutting Russian and U.S. Nuclear Arsenals by Two-Thirds""]

[Text] A year ago, leaving for New York to attend the summit-session of the UN Security Council, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, it seems, could only dream that his idea of a drastic reduction in the strategic nuclear arsenals of Russia and the United States would take shape so brilliantly by the end of the year. After all, during his meeting with President Bush at Camp David he was just trying to get things clear: Does Washington still consider a free Russia to be its most likely opponent? Having received a negative reply, Boris Nikolayevich took a new step: Why then are both countries wasting so much effort and money on developing two SDI's—kinds of missile "umbrellas"? Is it not time to curb the "nuclear jinni" or else do away with it altogether? And he heard the reply: "My friend Boris, I agree."

Work on this project moved into top gear. By the summer the basic outlines of a future START II Treaty had been determined. And when the Russian leader came to America again in June, a specific draft framework agreement envisaging reductions in each country's nuclear arsenal to between 3,800 and 4,250 weapons was laid on the negotiating table.

And so another step was taken toward the present historic event. Yet another statement by the guest from Moscow produced an enormous impact on the world community, and particularly the Americans. "We," Boris Yeltsin said in the U.S. Congress, "have already taken off alert duty our SS-18 heavy missiles targeted on the United States of America without waiting for the treaty or agreement to be signed."

There is, of course, an "enormous distance" between the declaration of an idea and its implementation. But it can be drastically reduced if the will is there. This is what happened with the START II Treaty. By mid-December it was basically ready, and the 72-hour talks between Andrey Kozyrev, Pavel Grachev, and U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger removed the remaining hitches that had been troubling the specialists. "The work was fully completed only after a series of last-minute concessions by both sides, including the submission of detailed information about U.S. bombers and unprecedented verification measures," a ranking U.S. diplomat stated to AFP. Among other things, the Russians received information about the specifications and performance characteristics of the new B-2 Stealth bomber, and inspectors from Russia will have access to bomb storage facilities and the bombers themselves in order to make sure that nuclear bombs are being replaced by conventional ones.

Of course, this concession by the partners gives weighty grounds for anticipating that the START II Treaty—the timing of whose signing, it is no secret, is linked to the end of George Bush's presidential term—will go through the next mandatory stage—ratification in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Senate. "There will of course by difficulties," Boris Yeltsin agreed in reply to a question from journalists. "But I am sure the treaty will be ratified. As of 1 January we have 9,915 nuclear warheads [boyegolovka]. Under the START II Treaty we will have between 3,000 and 3,500 weapons [zaryad]. This is a powerful shield for defending Russia...." And George Bush added: "This is not a one-sided treaty, it is a balanced one. And this is how it will be judged by history."

Paper Criticizes 'Haste' in Completing Deal

PM0401161993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 93 p 1

[S. Ivanov report: "United States and Russia Sign a Treaty"]

[Text] You cannot shake off the feeling that the first days of the new year have been a sort of political benefit for George Bush. The impressive farewell to his troops taking part in Operation Restore Hope in Somalia, the touching concern for orphans in the small town of Baidoa, and the flight from Africa to Moscow to sign a historic document. As far as the last "scene" is concerned, Russia was allotted in it, if not the role of an "extra," then, clearly, not the leading role. It is hard to explain the haste with which the Russian president put his signature to so important a document.

It would have been more logical to finalize the text of the treaty in Geneva without bustle, and to complete a no-less historic act with the new U.S. Administration. The West is inclined to see in B. Yeltsin's actions "an attempt to renew his tarnished image as head of state after the wounds inflicted on him during the confrontation with the congress," says the U.S. TV company CBS in a report.

A second, not inconsiderable factor is the treaty's passage through the U.S. Congress and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. And although both presidents expressed a healthy optimism regarding this question during their news conference in the Kremlin's Vladimir Hall, unlike the Russian Federation president, Bush will be defending the treaty in the Democrat-controlled Congress only as a private individual.

A separate problem is Ukraine, which has no intention of being satisfied with a part in the crowd scene at the festivities of Bush's farewell to power. All the signs suggest that there was no preliminary analysis on either the Russian or the U.S. side at a sufficiently high level with sovereign Ukraine of the question regarding START II. Hence a badly concealed note of resentment can be heard in Kiev's appraisals: "Instead of real help in destroying intercontinental ballistic missiles, we receive only negative stimuli. Ukraine was not a participant in the arms race but a victim of those who launched this race," Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Tarasyuk stated to REUTER in Washington.

All these factors, like flies in the ointment, can be explained only by the haste with which this truly remarkable step was completed.

Treaty To Be Severely Criticized in Parliament

MK3112191192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 92 p 1

[Vladimir Abarinov report under "Disarmament" rubric: "Unprecedented Agreement To Be Signed This Weekend"]

[Text] The meeting in Geneva between Andrey Kozyrev, Pavel Grachev, and Lawrence Eagleburger ended in complete success. Yesterday, even in the first half of the day they managed to agree on all technical details of the strategic arms limitation treaty (START II), on which an understanding in principle was reached during the June summit in Washington. Under the treaty Russia will keep 3,000 and the United States 3,500 nuclear warheads. This is indeed a gigantic step on the road toward nuclear disarmament, the reality of which both countries did not believe until the last second. There remains, in fact, merely a shadow of doubt—the sides have stated that Presidents Bush and Yeltsin must have the final say on the matter. However, as early as 29 December, without waiting for Eagleburger's return from Geneva, White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater stated that the START II treaty-signing ceremony would take place in Sochi this coming weekend on George Bush's way back from

Somalia. There is to be [sostoyalsya] a telephone conversation today at 1700 Moscow time between Boris Yeltsin and George Bush after which the world will learn [uznayet] the details of the unprecedented reduction in strategic offensive arms.

There is no doubt that the new treaty will be severely criticized in the Russian parliament. At the time, in June, the "brown-reds" declared the framework agreement a national betrayal. The author of these lines believes it necessary to state: Yes, the Americans continue to fear Russian missiles, but they are afraid not of Yeltsin but the "right wingers," who could one day possess the control panels for these missiles. So who exactly is committing an act of national betrayal? It is quite obvious that this question is going to loom very large in the near future.

Yeltsin-Bush Summit Results Viewed

PM0401143593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Jan 93 p 3

[Article by Ye. Popov: "Something About Future Shock"]

[Excerpts] In general foreign policy differs somewhat from sprinting: In international affairs fastest by no means necessarily means best. But the present summit, as meetings at the top level are traditionally called, lays claim to an entry in the Guinness Book of Records in connection with the frenzied haste of its preparation. What Christmas sensations were not spread by the mass media, making us all prey to doubt! Would Bush and Yeltsin fly to Alaska? And would Bill Clinton himself be a third party in the New year meeting? And would Kozyrev and Eagleburger have time to agree on everything in Geneva in literally the final hours of the outgoing year?

And now on the first day of the New Year there has been another surprise: It has been reported that because of the drastic deterioration in the weather on the Caucasus coast the venue for the meeting has been shifted to Moscow, which can hardly have any fundamental importance, but yet again emphasizes the fuss over the summit.

No one doubts that U.S. President-elect Clinton will ensure the continuity of the present administration's course in questions of reducing nuclear arms. As Bush stressed at the dinner in the Kremlin, Clinton fully supports the signing of the treaty and will be a "100 percent partner in continuing work on building U.S.-Russian relations which has been under way over the past year." But then why has there been all this Christmas fuss?

Yeltsin needs a demonstration of international recognition and George Bush with his arrival in Russia is again reminding the world of the man "on the Russian tank."

And the day before, seeing in the New Year for the last time as president, George Bush had tried to refute the traditional idea that in the time remaining until he hands over power the White House incumbent who has lost the elections is a "lame duck" and cannot be a worthy partner in international talks.

In Somalia, dressed in the camouflage uniform of the U.S. expeditionary corps, George Bush did not resist the temptation to indulge in saber-rattling: Mentioning the "Desert Storm" operation, he stated that the United States "has the best Armed Forces in the world." Previously in the White House he had uttered words that were also obviously designed to go down in the annals of history: "Thank God America won the cold war!" [passage omitted]

It was a kind of paradox of the former bipolar world that for all the superpowers' rivalry it was their nuclear arsenal that served as what at first glance seemed a very fragile guarantee of peace which in fact proved effective enough over the decades.

But the situation began to change drastically from the mid-eighties when the Soviet leadership began a game of geopolitical give-away unprecedented in world practice.

There is a widespread opinion that the strategists of "Atlanticism" are closer than ever to their goal. But the geopolitical cataclysms they have provoked as a result of the Soviet Union's destruction have generated new problems and new fears. [passage omitted]

Future shock, or fear of the future, is a phenomenon of public consciousness that has long been studied by scientists. And here is what is notable: The start of the nineties has been marked not by a reduction but on the contrary by an obvious aggravation of fear of the future!

Will the Moscow treaty on the reduction of strategic arms change the situation for the better or on the contrary give rise to new fears? Even before it was signed the Russian president called it "the document of the century" and Bush described it as "good for all mankind." Commentaries have already appeared suggesting that by signing this document in Moscow Bush has secured himself a place in history. The assessments with regard to Yeltsin are less unequivocal. THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE compares Russia today with "an angry old bear" and openly writes of the West's hopes: "Even if Yeltsin's experiment fails, Russia will not return to Communism. With a little luck there will be no rampaging nationalist expansion there. Russia is probably too weak and too lacking in self-confidence for that."

The West is accustomed to regard the defense of national interests against obvious threats and the "forces of Atlanticism"—a defense entirely natural for any sovereign state—as manifestations of "nationalist expansion." But, alas, the U.S. newspaper is unreservedly right that Russia is now "too weak..."

Black Sea Fleet Press Center Denies Nuclear Arms in Arsenal

LD0201074793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] The Black Sea Fleet press center has denied a number of Ukrainian media reports that there are nuclear weapons in one of the Fleet arsenals in the Crimea. A press center statement notes that attempts to attribute nuclear status to the Black Sea Fleet have nothing to do with reality.

Central Asian Leaders Conclude Summit in Tashkent

Hold News Conference

OW0401154693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1533 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan have confirmed their allegiance to the Commonwealth of Independent States, which, in their view, is still relevant. President Islam Karimov, of Uzbekistan, has said that at the same time each C.I.S. member-state wants to have guarantees it is free to develop the way it deems right. President Karimov was speaking at a news conference in Tashkent following Monday's meeting of the leaders of the five republics in the Uzbek capital.

President Karimov said the meeting was a "complete success". Among other things the conference decided to specify the term "Central Asia". From now on it should be applied to the region comprising Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

President Nursultan Nazarbayev, of Kazakhstan, told the news conference the Tashkent summit had taken "appropriate steps" to bring about a common market of Central Asian countries with common taxation, customs, pricing, investment and export policies. President Nazarbayev said the term "common market" would incorporate the principles of cooperation and integration of all economies of the region.

At the same time he warned against locking up oneself within the bounds of the region and called for broader cooperation with other countries, in the first place, Russia. President Nazarbayev said that the five republics would like to preserve the ruble zone on the principles of equality. He said there should be a banking union to control monetary policies and emission, where one member-state would have one vote. President Nazarbayev and other participants in the summit believe that this would guarantee a lasting ruble zone.

The Presidents of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan said they were prepared to step up their efforts to help eliminate the effects of the conflict in Tajikistan, for instance, to provide additional food and medical supplies.

President Saparmurad Niyazov, of Turkmenistan, suggested holding the next summit in Ashgabat.

Karimov, Nazarbayev Comment

OW0401174093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1710 GMT 4 Jan 93

[From the 5 January "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Leaders of the five [Central Asian] states held a joint press conference on the results of the Tashkent meeting. At the press conference they proposed that the geographic understanding of "Central Asia" should henceforth be understood as the region encompassing the territories of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. It is their belief that the new term will require changing the cumbersome phrase "republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan".

The president of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, ascertained "the complete success of the meeting". He spoke against the assertion that the CIS has exhausted itself. At the same time I. Karimov did not rule out the possibility of forming a general market of countries of Central Asia, which will envisage a general customs duties, pricing and export policy and also mutual complementation of the economies of all states. I. Karimov noted in connection with this that "appropriate steps (towards a general Central Asian market—"IF" [INTERFAX]) have already been taken" at the summit in Tashkent. The president of Uzbekistan called for the maintenance of one equal ruble zone in which the administration of financial policy and monetary emission would be realized on the principle of "one state, one vote". Karimov believes that this approach might guarantee the "durability of the ruble zone". He assessed the possibility of withdrawing from the zone as "undesirable".

At the press conference, the establishment of a number of joint programs of the states of the Central Asian region was announced. This concerns, in particular, the processing of surplus crude oil, extracted in Kazakhstan, at enterprises of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan which have available free capacities. It was decided to create a unified information space. With this aim, the Tashkent TV and radio center will be used as a base to begin transmission on the whole region and the publication of a general Central Asian newspaper.

States of the region will form expert committees on energy (with headquarters in Bishkek), on oil (Ashgabat), on cotton (Tashkent), on grains (Alma-Ata).

The president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, proposed that the general symbol of the states of Central Asia be the plane—a tree which has one root and five branches.

Leaders Adopt Joint Communique

LD0401221093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2105 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Five Asian republics of the former Soviet Union ended their summit meeting in Tashkent on Monday by agreeing to pursue a concerted policy aimed to create a common market in the region.

The participants also agreed to set up an Inter-Republican Coordinating Council and exchange governmental representatives to coordinate joint activities and oversee the implementation of agreements.

The meeting was attended by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev, Turkmen

President Saparmurad Niyazov, Uzbek President Islam Karimov and Tajik Parliament Speaker Imamali Rahmonov.

They discussed the economic and political situation in the region and in the CIS as a whole and called for stronger economic and financial ties, stressing the need to preserve the rouble as a common currency. They also decided to set up an international fund for the salvation of the Aral Sea, the joint communique adopted at the summit said.

In addition, the five states agreed to create a regional information network, including television with the headquarters in Tashkent and a regional newspaper.

The leaders at the summit said their republics will continue humanitarian aid to conflict-torn Tajikistan which signed a treaty of friendship, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations with Uzbekistan. Uzbekistan also signed a cooperation agreement with Kazakhstan.

They suggested holding such meetings on a regular basis. The next meeting will be held in the Turkmen capital of Ashgabat in April.

Agreements, Discussion Outlined

LD0501114293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1041 GMT 5 Jan 93

[By TURKMEN press correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Ashgabat January 5 TASS—The need to establish closer economic cooperation among countries in the region was emphasised by participants in the recently concluded meeting of regional heads of state in Tashkent.

They reached agreement on the elaboration of a specific mechanism for permanent monitoring of the implementation of interstate and intergovernmental treaties and agreements.

Turkmenistan's newspapers today widely publish accounts of the meeting and a joint communique, adopted as a result of a discussion of the political and economic situation in countries of the region and of an exchange of views on matters aimed at further strengthening equal and mutual beneficial contacts between the sovereign states.

The heads of state instructed the respective governments to work out issues connected with the problems of the Aral and Caspian seas in the interests of the states of the region and decided to set up an international foundation for the salvation of the Aral.

Participants in the meeting to hold such meetings of the heads of state and government regularly. [sentence as received] Next meeting is to be held in Ashgabat in April.

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[By KAZTAG correspondent for TASS]

Alma-Ata January 5 TASS—The following heads of state had a meeting in Tashkent on January 4: President Nursultan Nazarbayev of the Republic of Kazakhstan, President Askar Akayev of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan Parliament Speaker Imamali Rahmonov, President Saparmurat Niyazov of Turkmenistan, and President Islam Karimov of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Participants in the meeting discussed in detail the political and economic situation in the states of the region, had a useful exchange of views on matters aimed at further strengthening equal and mutually beneficial economic and humanitarian relations between the sovereign states, considered the state of affairs in the Commonwealth of Independent States and discussed other matters of mutual interest.

During the discussion, participants made proposals on the pursuance of a coordinated policy in economic, financial and other spheres in the light of a stage-by-stage transition to market relations.

The heads of state reviewed the implementation of bilateral and multilateral treaties and trade-and-economic agreements between countries of the region, pointing out that these became a basis for constructive solutions to political, economic, social and humanitarian problems, including that for a certain softening of the consequences of production slump, inflation, and decline in the living standards of the population.

Participants in the meeting emphasised the importance of closer economic cooperation among countries in the region and reached agreement to work out a specific mechanism for constant monitoring of the implementation of interstate and intergovernmental treaties and agreements.

The heads of state reafirmed readiness to render every kind of assistance to the fraternal Tajik people and supported measures being taken by the leadership of the Republic of Tajikistan to take it out of the critical political and economic situation as soon as possible, and declared for increasing moral support for the constitutional authority of Tajikistan and humanitarian aid with food, medicines and clothes.

Within the framework of the meeting, there was an exchange of views on matters concerning international cooperation and the coordination of action in this respect, including those in strengthening regional security and peace.

The heads of state decided to exchange ambassadors and instructed their ministries of foreign affairs to decide the matter before February 1, 1993, according to an established procedure.

As a result of the exchange of views, the heads of state instructed their governments to work out matters connected with the pricing policy, the development of communications, the provision of energy resources, the problems of the Aral and Caspian seas in the interests of the states of the region.

The sides decided to set up an international foundation for the salvation of the Aral and deemed it necessary to hold foundation meetings in Kzyl Orda, Nukus, and Tashauz.

The participants in the meeting were unanimous about the advisability of holding meetings of the heads of state and government on a regular basis. Next meeting is to be held in Ashgabat in April.

Participants Cited on Petersburg Interparlimentary Assembly

PM3112125792 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Dec 92 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Commonwealth Formula. The CIS Countries' Interparliamentary Assembly Has Ended in St. Petersburg. Its Participants Speak"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—Beksultan Ishimov, chairman of the Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet Commission for Legislation Issues, Human Rights, Defense Matters, National Security, and the Struggle Against Crime:

"Constitutional reform cannot be confined to repairing the existing fundamental laws but is called upon to seriously update their content, principles, and forms. While in St. Petersburg we have seen for ourselves that work on draft constitutions is in full swing not only in our country but also in other Commonwealth countries. We have also seen for ourselves that many of us are trying in our national constitutions to combine problems of today and of a future which is still hard to imagine. This means that we need to exchange experience and information."

Babken Ararktsyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet:

"In speaking of the creation of their own constitutions, my colleagues who have spoken have frequently referred to the experience of other states. But the CIS countries were missing from these lists. I believe that it is possible to create within the framework of the Interparliamentary Assembly a structure which could make an expert appraisal of the constitutions which are still being drawn up. Being the basis of the state's legislation, the constitution must always be the focus of attention for countries which intend to cooperate closely in the future."

Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet:

"We very much hope not only for an exchange of experience in the course of constitutional reforms but also that we will confirm and enshrine in the new constitutions our adherence to common principles. People's lives depend on this, as does, in the final analysis, something of which all people in our states dream: of returning to the principles of friendship, cooperation, and mutual respect which we always had."

Rakhmet Mukashev, member of Kazakhstan's delegation:

"The new independent countries have inherited from the former unified state, which existed for many hundreds of years, a common infrastructure, a unified life-support system, and numerous interregional economic ties. Their disruption in recent years has been one of the most important causes of the crisis. In addition to purely political causes, the splintering of once unified legislation and the emergence of gaps and contradictions in it have been a specific cause of this breakup. It would be useful to complete the results of specific accords along legislative lines by creating mutual plans for eliminating groundless legal disagreements under the auspices of the Interparliamentary Assembly, and legally binding acts under the auspices of the Council of Heads of State and Heads of Government and other structures. Of course, there can be no question of drawing the Commonwealth countries' entire legislation closer together, merely of eliminating contradictions with regard to the common infrastructure, the common life-support systems, and interregional deliveries."

Sergey Sirotkin, chairman of a Russian Supreme Soviet subcommittee:

"Control mechanisms are essential in the sphere of human rights. Even the very best constitution with a very broad catalogue of rights is never an adequate guarantee unless rights are backed up by control. A complex legacy of the Union's breakup is the fact that the population of the now sovereign states has been wrested from the unified humanitarian area. We are responsible for recreating it at a qualitatively new level. With any degree of our integration in the 'European' or 'Asian' home, we remain, all the same, a unified geopolitical area."

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces:

"The breaking up of the Armed Forces of the former USSR into constituent parts has been far from painless. The second serious loss has been the lowering of the Armed Forces' combat ability and of the CIS states' level of security. Unless we wish to dissemble, we should admit that the combat readiness of the Commonwealth's army is a cause for very serious alarm. Certain states are reckoning on building strong and effective modern defenses on their own. The High Command seeks to coordinate the defense ministries' efforts on questions of building national armed forces, by agreeing questions of military and military-technical policy in the Commonwealth. In this we receive support and understanding from Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Russia. Ukraine and Turkmenistan participate in military cooperation only on certain questions, and the Belarusian Defense Ministry constantly vacillates. Moldova is moving farther and farther away from the CIS military organization. We need a clear-cut and definite approach in the positions of parliaments and their assistance. The High Command proposes the idea of creating a defensive union which will constitute the military basis of the CIS countries' collective security system, and its doctrine must be defensive and be a generalized reflection of national military doctrines."

CIS Working Group Coordinator Interviewed

PM3112130992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 92 First Edition p 6

[Report on interview with I.M. Korotchenya, coordinator of the CIS working group, by correspondent Aleksey Yeroshenko in Minsk; date not given: "CIS Charter Will Leave Each Country the Right to Determine Its Own Policy"]

[Text] At the intersection of two alleys in Minsk there is a gloomy and chilly looking building of unremarkable appearance whose offices for a year now have been linked by invisible capillaries to the circulation system of the giant organism called the CIS. Before the New Year our correspondent in Belarus, Aleksey Yeroshenko, met here with I.M. Korotchenya, the coordinator of the CIS working group. He speaks:

"Over the year the CIS has existed there have been many attempts to transform it from an amorphous formation into a community capable not only of declaring good intentions but also of implementing them consistently. The Economic Court, the Coordination Economic Council, conceived but not yet born, and much else deserves the best possible fate on this plane. Nor can we fail to value the activity of over 50 interstate councils and commissions which have made their contribution to the CIS life support system. But these are all just "units" and not an integral structure of the CIS locomotive. The charter submitted for approval by the next summit meeting should be the universal mechanism which defines in principle each subject's attitude toward the fate of the Belovezhskaya forest formation.

A formation which unites so many dissimilar "characters" cannot be strictly cut according to a single template. None of the document's 45 paragraphs contains a single mandatory, arbitrary point. Each country retains the right to determine its own policy. Thus, on the one hand, the legal base is formed for cooperation among states and on the other their sovereignty is preserved with nothing to encroach upon it. That is what we cudgelled our brains over. Here Russia's ideas on "different speeds" for joining the CIS and different levels of participation in it were very useful indeed.

Mutual accounts between the states should be just as trouble-free as they were in the recent past between the republics of the former Union. This optimistic forecast is connected with the creation of an interstate bank, the draft agreement on whose formation has already been signed by experts of 11 countries, although for some details complete unanimity has not yet been reached. In this case the search for a single international means of accounting has been tricky since many republics have their own currency in circulation. Everyone agreed beforehand on the Russian ruble. Although the most attractive proposal was the one for the introduction of a special inter-nation currency like the European Economic Community's Ecu [European currency unit].

Gas Ministers Meet To Discuss Prices, Transport Charges

NC3012155292 Baku TURAN in English 1125 GMT 30 Dec 92

[All figures as received]

[Text] Baku, 30 Dec (TURAN)—The intention of the Turkmenistan's authorities to bring into line the republic's gas price with the world prices has put the countries-buyers in a difficult situation.

At the meeting of the gas ministers of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Chechnya and Dagestan, held on December 25-28 in Ashgabat, the state administrative board of Turkengazprom demanded 48 dollars for each thousand cubic metres of gas, that is 60 per cent of the world price.

In its turn, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Chechnya and Dagestan avowed their determination to rise in prices for the gas transportation through their territories. So, Uzbekistan demands 1,5 dollars for each thousand cubic meters of gas, passing through its 430-km-section of gas pipe, Kazakhstan wants to receive 2,8 dollars per thousand as its section of gas-pipe makes up 860 km, Chechnya, with its section of pipe amounting to 1,115 km, demands 1,409 rubles.

Vice-president of the Azerigaz company Aydin Amanov said to the TURAN correspondent that "in the case of sharp rise in prices for blue fuel and acceptance of the terms, put forward by the participants of the Ashgabat's negotiations, the republic will face disastrous power problem."

As it is known, early, Azerbaijan received about 4 mlrd [milliard] cubic metres of gas from Turkmenistan through clearing - 150 varieties of the Azerbaijani goods were delivered to Turkmenistan for its gas.

At the beginning of January, the Turkmenistani delegation is supposed to arrive in Baku to settle the problem.

ITAR-TASS Reviews Press for 5 Jan

LD0501063893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0530 GMT 5 Jan 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—Today's Moscow-based press highlights comments on the treaty on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms (START-2), signed in Moscow on January 3 by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his U.S. counterpart George Bush, and the Tashkent meeting of the heads of Central Asian States and Kazakhstan.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER) contends in its commentary that the two sides have every ground to be proud of the fact that such an agreement as the START-2 Treaty has been reached, and

notes the confidence of the leaders of the Russian Federation and the United States that the treaty will be successfully ratified.

At the same time the newspaper points out that a serious problem along the road is posed by the need for Ukraine to implement the Lisbon protocol, dated May 1992, under which it undertook to turn over to Russia 176 intercontinental ballistic missiles with 1,240 warheads deployed on its territory. "Without that, neither the START-2 nor the START-1 Treaty can enter into force," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes.

The newspaper TRUD refers to the signing of the treaty in Moscow as a "major step towards disarmament". KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) runs a detailed summary of remarks by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev in evaluation of the treaty at a news conference on January 3.

PRAVDA, while recognising the necessity of the disarmament process, including the achievement of agreement with the United States in this respect, at the same time believes that "Russia intends to discard its most effective missiles that irritate overseas strategists".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA runs the full text of the Russian president's New-Year's address, and NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries a summary of the address under the title "Boris Yeltsin Sees Light at the End of the Tunnel".

Press reports on the Tashkent meeting of the heads of states of Central Asia and Kazakhstan summarise the text of a joint communique on the results of the forum. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA believes that participants in the meeting discussed matters concerning closer cooperation among countries in the region while KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is of the opinion that the meeting was also aimed at "urging the other republics (of the Commonwealth of Independent States) to determine their attitudes towards the CIS and make Russia act more resolutely in this respect".

Newspapers point out that all participants in the forum declared for the preservation of the CIS. PRAVDA, reporting a news conference held at the close of the Tashkent meeting, maintains, referring to answers given to journalists' questions by participants in the news conference, that the forum in the capital of Uzbekistan created all prerequisites for the establishment of a new commonwealth—that of Central Asian states.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine. Touching upon the state of Russo- Ukrainian relations, he emphasises that "setting our two peoples at loggerheads would be the gravest crime."

Kuchma said he visualises "prospects for Ukraine, and for Russia, too," as dependent primarily "on the level of our relations, on their character".

Among numerous reports from the flashpoints, the press singles out materials about a large-scale offensive launched by the Armenian expeditionary corps in southern Karabakh on Monday in the direction of Fizuli district.

Bush-Yeltsin Joint Statement on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD0301153993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1524 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—The joint statement of the president of the Russian Federation and the president of the United States of America on Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Russian Federation and the United States of America express deep concern over the continuing sanguinary tragedy in Nagorno- Karabakh and, lately, on the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia. The long and fierce hostilities continue to increase the number of casualties, mostly among civilians, and inflict enormous damage to the economies of both states, to discredit the democratic tendencies in their development, to destablise the situation in the whole of Transcaucasia.

We are worried over the continuation and aggravation of the conflict, over brutal shellings and bombardments of populated localities, over streams of refugees, introduction of blockades, violations of international humanitarian law, including siezure of hostages and barbaric treatment of POWs. These activities demand fixed attention and condemnation on the part of civilised states, the United Nations and international humanitarian structures.

Russia and the U.S. call for an immediate end to the bloodshed, for a drastic turn towards a political settlement of the conflict, for an early convocation of the CSCE conference on Nagorno-Karabakh in Minsk to solve all disputed problems. This meets the supreme national interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples. They (Russia and the U.S.) address the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia, all participants in the conflict with an insistent call to confirm by practical deeds the statements on the desire to solve it (the conflict) by peaceful methods, to respect the reached peaceful agreements.

On their side, the Russian Federation and the United States of America confirm their readiness to join efforts and continue to render help in searching for solutions acceptable for all participants in the conflict, first and foremost in the CSCE framework.

Kozyrev Says Yeltsin-Clinton Meeting Under Discussion

PM0401153193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 93 p 2

[Unnatributed report under general heading "Paragraph"]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has announced that the possibility is being discussed of Boris Yeltsin holding a meeting with President-elect Bill Clinton after his inauguration 20 January. Evidently the meeting will take place in Russia.

Clinton Stance on Summit With Yeltsin Pondered

PM0401173193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by Vladimir Mikheyev: "Yeltsin Receives Bush in Moscow and Suggests Date With Clinton"]

[Text] Few people expected offensive tactics from the Yeltsin team at this inauspicious moment when, as many Western political scientists see it, the main chunk of the former "one-sixth of the dry land" is weakened by internal strife and instability on its borders. Who would conduct negotiations, logically, "from a position of weakness"?

But the Russian military and diplomatic departments, with President Yeltsin's direct backing, displayed a rare combination of flexibility and perseverance in the preparation of the START II Treaty, which culminated in the conclusion of a "balanced" agreement that does not disrupt the established nuclear parity. And within a timeframe literally dictated to the Americans by Moscow.

You will recall that President Yeltsin's statement about a START II Treaty signing ceremony being in the offing took the White House by surprise. Having indicated, in accordance with the long-standing tradition, that many "technical details" remain to be sorted out, the United States then accelerated the final stage of the talks in Geneva and agreed to the tight schedule proposed by Russia.

Keeping up the pace, Russian diplomats gently suggested to Clinton that he rewrite his "schedule," or, rather, the program for the traditional "100 days" which every president gets after his inauguration on 20 January. The ink of George Bush's signature on the agreement was still wet when Boris Yeltsin spelled out Moscow's position: There is no question of any hiatus in contacts between the two countries' leaders, so it is proposed that Bill Clinton hold a "working meeting on neutral territory to discuss all matters" immediately after the inauguration and not put the summit on hold.

The invitation was conveyed to the 42d president of the United States a few days ago. Clinton's reply, which arrived last Sunday, was upbeat: "I would like such a meeting to take place at an early stage of my presidency, although the time and place are yet to be determined." "Time" is the key word—it depends on "Congress'" work schedule and on what kind of input domestic U.S. problems will require on my part." [quotation marks as published]

Judging by purely outward signs, Bill Clinton, in his reply, is not abandoning the principles that are his ideological trademark. First, he repeated many times at election rallies that he intends to "focus like a laser beam" on America's domestic economic problems. Second, he based his criticism of his rival, George Bush, on accusing the latter of being too caught up with foreign policy.

Everyone remembers this. It was by promising to deal with the economic ills (the tax burden, job losses, competition from the Japanese and Europeans, and so on) that Bill

Clinton got his mandate to govern. How can he change his tune after that? Particularly when you consider that henceforth his main task, according to the U.S. political manual, will be to think only of reelection for a second term.

So, in the first "100 days," will Clinton see fit to become a homebody and not leave the White House even for "neutral territory"? It is not worthwhile guessing.

In the first place, as Minister Kozyrev said, even after the implementation of the START II Treaty "the United States and Russia will still be superpowers in terms of the number of nuclear missiles and delivery vehicles on their territories."

Second, the White House is worried that Ukraine has not yet ratified the START I Treaty, has not endorsed the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, and is insisting on further U.S. dollars to carry out decontamination and other "cleanup work" after the removal of 176 ballistic missiles from its territory. Washington is clearly expecting to involve Moscow in its lobby diplomacy vis-a-vis Kiev.

Third, the American commitments to technical assistance in the elimination of some of Russia's strategic armaments and the funds that Congress has already released for that purpose tie the White House and the Kremlin together.

Finally, no doubt the "new world order" philosophy—which presupposes collaboration between the United States and Russia in resolving regional crises, halting local wars, punishing aggressors, giving aid, and so on—will continue.

It is hard to imagine that Bill Clinton will significantly alter the schedule for his first 100 days in power. The likelihood is that he will opt for a compromise and follow the old rule—make haste slowly. But the head of a state that sees itself as the "leader of the free world" is unlikely to be able to afford to delay a summit meeting with Boris Yeltsin even though he says that domestic economic problems take priority over foreign policy.

Kozyrev, New U.S. Secretary of State Intend To Meet

OW0501122193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1211 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to well-informed circles, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and the new American Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, intend to meet soon and probably set the date of the next Russian-American summit. The meeting is likely to take place in a third country, shortly after Bill Clinton's inauguration on January 20.

During their Monday telephone conversation, Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton stressed the necessity of holding a working meeting to avoid an interval in the implementation of the START-2 treaty, which was signed in Moscow on Sunday. Clinton called the treaty an event of the century, stressing that he will do his utmost to carry out the provisions of this extremely important document.

Grachev Cuts Short Visit to UAE Because of Father's Death

LD0401164993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1533 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 4 Jan—Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev today broke off his visit to the United Arab Emirates [UAE] and flew back to Moscow. The visit began yesterday. The minister's press secretary told journalists here that Grachev had been forced to cancel his itinerary in the UAE and postpone his visit to neighboring Kuweit because of the death of his father.

Before flying out, Pavel Grachev made a statement on the outcome of his meetings and talks with the UAE leadership. In particular, he met today with the country's president, Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan.

This was the first visit to the Persian Gulf region by a Russian defense minister, Grachev said, and it showed that Russia as a great power is motivated and willing to play a fitting role in an area that is important to its interests. The Middle East has always attracted great attention, and it still contains sources of tension and of potential armed conflict. The tragic events in Kuwait two years ago have changed the direction and emphasis of our military relations with the countries in the region.

Russia intends to make its contribution to ensuring peace and stability in the Persian Gulf by supporting good-neighborly and friendly relations with all countries in the region, the Russian defense minister continued. Russia will support efforts based on the principles of international law to resolve disagreements in the area and will assist moves to establish a regional security system which is not directed against anyone else.

Pavel Grachev said that his talks with UAE leaders examined a wide range of aspects of Russo-Emirates relations, including defense. Russia has confirmed its willingness to take a positive view of UAE requests on meeting defense requirements. Agreement was reached on continuing contacts and exchanging delegations, and a corresponding protocol of understanding and coordination has been signed. Russia's military-technical links with the UAE and other Gulf countries are intended to ensure the peaceful development of the region and the strengthening of security and stability.

Grachev gave assurances that Russia will maintain these links in a moderate and balanced fashion and will not allow them to be used to the detriment of regional security.

The high-ranking military delegation that was accompanying Grachev will fly on to Kuwait tomorrow. It is headed by Colonel General Viktor Prudnikov, commander of Russia's air defense troops.

Kozyrev Likely To Meet Japan's Watanabe in Paris

OW0501123693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1211 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The foreign ministers of Russia and Japan, Andrey Kozyrev and Michio Watanabe, are likely to meet in Paris, although the final decision has not been made. This was reported to Interfax by Yuriy Kuznetsov of the Asia and Pacific section of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

He said that purely technical reasons, such as work on the START-2 treaty, caused the delay in the decision on the meeting in the French capital, where the two ministers will attend the signing of the ban on war chemicals later this month.

Kuznetsov doubted whether in Paris the two sides would discuss President Yeltsin's postponed visit to Tokyo. It is important to reaffirm readiness to organize a visit, the diplomat said.

He did not think that the ministers would be able to hold full- scale talks in Paris or discuss the territorial problem. "They simply won't have time for that," he said.

Opposition Party Delegation Views Visit to Iraq

OW0401155093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1450 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The opposition in Russia intends to press for raising the issue of legality of international sanctions against Iraq at the U.N. Security Council," Aleksey Mitrofanov, the spokesman on foreign policy in the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDP), better known as the "Zhirinovskiy party", told newsmen on Monday.

On Sunday, he said, a delegation of four LDP "ministers" returned from Baghdad, where "the envoys of the Russian opposition were received on the highest government level."

According to A. Mitrofanov, the blockade against Iraq "might be lifted by May." The Iraqi leadership, he said, "continues to view Russia as its geopolitical, military and economic ally, and intends to begin repaying its 7-billion-dollar debt to Russia as soon as the sanctions are lifted."

As A. Mitrofanov said, his delegation "was convinced that there are no traces of war in Baghdad, and that the living standards there are no lower than those in Russia. Our meetings with local leaders and a study of the situation in the country have shown that the international blockade only serves to steel the government and people of Iraq," he pointed out.

Russian Military Attache Aide Expelled From U.S.

PM0401220393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Russian Military Attache Declared Persona Non Grata"]

[Text] Washington—At exactly the time while Presidents Yeltsin and Bush were toasting the new era in U.S.-Russian relations in the Kremlin, a story rooted right in the previous era came to a conclusion at the airport in Washington. A high-ranking staffer of the Russian Military Attache's Office, declared persona non grata by the Americans and accused of espionage, took an Aeroflot flight back home last Saturday [2 January].

He is our first diplomat to be expelled from the United States since the Soviet Union's collapse.

According to my information, the Russian Embassy received assurances that the military diplomat would be expelled quietly, without any press anouncements, so as not to impede the Russian-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow, as the Embassy was told. But a leak of information was nonetheless organized, and THE WASHINGTON POST reported the expulsion on its first page under a banner headline.

I do not recall any similar occurrence in the past: Never before has the press been notified in advance that the U.S. authorities are planning to expell someone. This is usually announced as an accomplished fact.

The following is one of the explanations as to why this was done now: Apparently in order to unequivocally put the topic of Russian intelligence operations in the United States on the Moscow summit agenda. This topic is often raised in the U.S. press, normally following the latest public statement by CIA Director Robert Gates or by some high-ranking FBI functionary. Both the CIA and the FBI are dissatisfied with the fact that Russia continues its intelligence operations in the United States, and the fact that, according to FBI data, intelligence operations by the KGB and the GRU have increased 12 percent in 1992 (it would be interesting to find out how this calculation was done?).

But that selfsame Gates does not in the least raise the question of curtailing U.S. intelligence activities in Russia and other CIS countries. On the contrary, he constantly emphasizes the imperative need to maintain "proper financing" of technical intelligence operations, using spy satellites for example, as well as of operations requiring the "human factor."

People in Washington do not at all rule out the possibility of Moscow's taking measures in response to the expulsion of the Russian military diplomat and expelling someone from the U.S. Military Attache's Office. Specific mention is made of Brigadier Gregory Govan, who is in any event due to return to the United States in the next few weeks to take up his new post as leader of the Pentagon's On-Site Inspections Agency, in other words the selfsame agency

which sends its people to our missile building plants to monitor the implementation of arms control agreements.

It is curious that when Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev was asked last Sunday whether he could confirm the reports about the Russian military diplomat's expulsion, his answer was an amazed: "I know nothing about this. This is completely new to me."

Kozyrev, who took part in an NBC-TV program, was also asked about his response to claims by Gates and other Washington administration functionaries that Russia has been stepping up its intelligence activity in the United States. The minister remarked that when the CIA director was recently in Moscow and met with President Yeltsin and himself, Kozyrev, he had not made any such charges. On the other hand, according to Kozyrev, the time has probably come "to display new approaches toward this problem"—it may be necessary to subject these institutions, in other words both countries' intelligence departments, "to the conversion to which nuclear arms are being subjected."

Foreign Ministry Official Discusses ROK, DPRK

SK0201104493 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Report on an interview with Georgiy Toloraya, chief of the Korea Department the Russian Foreign Ministry, by station reporter (Kritov) from the "Today's World" program; place and date not given—Toloraya recorded remarks in Russian fading into Korean translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Georgiy Toloraya, chief of the the Russian Foreign Ministry Korea Department, answered the following questions from our station reporter (Kritov):

How have relations between Russia and the ROK and the relations between Russia and the DPRK developed in 1992?

[Toloraya] Last year was a period when Russia formulated new policies. The same can be said of Russia's relations with North and South Korea.

Let us recall what Russian inherited from the former Soviet Union. The relations between Russia and the DPRK have developed in a complicated manner. Cooperation between Russia and the ROK has merely begun. The ROK has dealt with us with a certain extent of mistrust. We have felt Seoul's lack of understanding of our country in that Seoul wondered which way Russia would go and how it would affect the situation on the Korean peninsula.

What happened last year? Russia and the ROK have significantly expanded and strengthened their relations. An important event in 1992 was the Russian president's visit to the ROK. This was Yeltsin's first Asian trip. The two countries signed a treaty on basic relations in Seoul. This has promoted a new atmosphere. They also signed economic agreements and various other important documents.

Also, the two countries' foreign ministers met four times last year and discussed bilateral relations. This has removed the ROK's mistrust of and fear for our country. Seoul accepts our country as a promising long-term partner.

Based on the principle of reciprocity, we have generally resolved the issues that we had inherited from the past. I have in mind the issue involving the ROK passenger plane, which was shot down in 1983, and a few other issues. The remainder of the issues can be resolved based on the mutual understanding between the two countries' leaders, including the ROK president-elect.

There are no convincing grounds for opposing the notion that Russia must promote mutually beneficial relations with the DPRK and the ROK. During his visit to Seoul, President Yeltsin stated that the development of relations between Russia and the ROK must not damage the DPRK.

Russia's assertion that any Asian-Pacific nation no longer considers Russia to be its potential enemy is also totally true with the DPRK. This is certain. The two countries reconfirmed the principle on bilateral relations in 1992. Moreover, all of this took place in the context of the great changes in Russia, the ROK, and the world in general.

With regard to the issue of the Korean peninsula, Russia has removed to a certain extent the DPRK's worry that Russia would carry out one-sided policies, supporting only the ROK's views in international dialogue. We are willing to positively work with Pyongyang in political and economic fields and cooperate with Pyongyang to ensure that obstacles be removed in North-South dialogue.

[Announcer] How do you assess the overall situation on the Korean peninsula?

[Toloraya] Pyongyang and Seoul signed the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchange and Cooperation in 1992. North-South talks and premiers' contacts started that year. Regrettably, because of the two sides' year-end disagreement on mutual nuclear inspections and the decision by Washington and Seoul to resume the Team Spirit military exercise, the talks were suspended.

Russia, China, the United States, Japan, and other countries concerned must promote a favorable atmosphere to ensure that Pyongyang and Seoul find ways to denuclearize the Korean peninsula, alleviate tension, and promote mutual North-South trust. [end recording]

[Announcer] What do think of the future of the relations between Russia and the ROK?

[Toloraya] Time has come that Seoul carry out various large-scale projects on which agreement was reached when President Yeltsin visited the ROK. We anticipate new summit talks. It is too early to talk about summit talks in detail. We must prepare for such talks after assessing how the previous agreements have been implemented.

We are planning to develop cooperation with the DPRK in the economic field, first of all. Our two countries must formulate a common view on the treaty which exists

between them. They must revive a mechanism for holding regular consultative meetings to discuss urgent issues concerning the Korean peninsula. They must also coordinate the problem concerning Korea's [choson] debts to Russia which exceeds 3 billion rubles in 1990 prices. The repayment of the debts cannot be done in one year. Rather, it must be done by promoting economic cooperation.

Speaking of North-South reunification, the Korean people's painful problem, the North and South Korean people themselves must find a way to solve this problem. Russia sincerely hopes that they will build a peace-loving democratic reunified Korea at the earliest possible date.

[Announcer] In conclusion, Chief Toloraya said: Seizing this opportunity, I extend New Year greetings to Moscow Radio listeners. I also sincerely wish all Korean people happiness, prosperity, and a success in the cause of reunifying the fatherland.

Russian Envoy Says Moscow To Seek Better ROK, DPRK Ties

SK0501084393 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 5 Jan 93 pp 2, 5

[Interview with Russian Ambassador to Seoul Aleksandr Panov by staff reporter Kim Hye-won; place and date not given]

[Text] Russia is certain that the incoming President of Korea is fully aware of the importance of the relationship between the two countries and hopes that the new President will work to further promote improved relations, Russian Ambassador to Seoul Aleksandr Panov said.

Regretting the controversy over the contents of the black box of the Korean Air [KAL] jetliner downed by the Soviets in 1983, the envoy, however, stressed that this issue should not become an obstacle in further developing cooperative ties between the two countries.

He said Seoul and Moscow will be starting full-scale exchange visits between military personnel this year in order to "get acquainted with each other" and "explore possibilities for future cooperation" under an agreement signed between their defense ministers in Seoul in November 1992.

Contacts between military personnel are important to building mutual confidence in relations between the two countries, Panov said in a New Year's interview with THE KOREA HERALD.

He said, "Without a reasonable level of mutual confidence in military fields, it is difficult to build up confidence."

The envoy further said his government is willing to make a compromise in negotiations over the ownership of the 19th century Russian Legation in Korea for its early settlement.

The two countries have held a series of negotiations over this issue since last summer when Russia formally claimed its ownership of the old legation site in Chong-tong near the residence of the American ambassador in Seoul.

Panov hoped that relations between Russia and North Korea will recover to a "normal" status this year, arguing that maintaining the treaty signed between the two countries in 1961 helps, to some extent, to stabilize the situation on the Korean Peninsula and in the region.

He said there will be no revisions in the interpretation of the treaty for the time being.

The following are excerpts from the interview.

Question [Q, Kim Hye-won]: Please evaluate the developments in Korea-Russian relations last year.

Answer [A, Aleksandr Panov]: President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Seoul in November was the highlight of a series of events in our relationship that took place last year. The president expressed satisfication over the results of his visit here.

The joint statement made by the two presidents at that time was an important document not only in bilateral relations, but it also states the common positions of the two countries on many important international issues.

What needs to be done this year is to put into practice the various agreements made during the visit. They should not just be left on paper.

Your country is now going through a transition. I'm sure your future president is fully aware of the importance of our relations and is in favor of further developing relations between the two countries.

Q: Korean sentiments about Russia have been much hurt since the controversy involving the black box of the KAL passenger place shot down by the Soviets in 1983. Please elaborate your position on this matter.

A: Unfortunately, there was a misunderstanding between the two sides over the contents of the black box that was handed over to Korea by President Yeltsin, especially on the working level.

Our president sent a personal letter to President No Oct. 29, saying that he would like to present to the Korean side recorded tapes of the conversations of the crew members of the downed plane. The conversations, in written form, had been already given to the Korean side at that time. Our side presumed that what would be delivered to the Korean side had been fully stated in the letter.

But many people here expected the black box to contain its complete contents. No Korean officials asked us what was inside. We, unfortunately, did not tell them about the contents, either.

There was surely a misunderstanding despite all the good intentions. The problem was that the misunderstanding was not corrected immediately, at least before being published in the newspapers here.

I am sorry for this, but I don't see any necessity to put too much emphasis on this incident. What is important is that now we have found a reasonable and effective way of solving this problem once and for all.

The international commission formed last month in Moscow, comprising all concerned parties, will clarify the essence of the incident.

This problem should not be an obstacle for future relations between the two countries, if so, it is not fair for Russia and not good for Korea, either.

Q: Can you suggest a desirable direction of future relations between the two countries?

A: We need to move ahead with future-oriented perspectives. We can develop more than a neighborly relationship. We can become partners in politics, economics and other fields.

Politically, we can dc many things together for stabilization of the situation in this region. In economic fields, the two countries can develop mutually beneficial partnerships by complementing each other.

Russia has resources, technology and skilled manpower. You have management experiences and capital sources.

We also can do a lot of things in military fields. We have already started exchanges between military people. Mutual confidence between the two countries is important to secure a stable situation on the Korean Peninsula.

However, it is absolutely not our intention to in any way hamper the American-Korean relationship. Military contacts between South Korea and Russia are only aimed at building mutual confidence. Without a reasonable level of confidence in military fields, it will be difficult for the two countries to have confidence in each other.

I also emphasize the necessity to expand people's exchanges this year. So far exchanges have been limited to only a narrow circle of people. We need broader exchange and cooperation between our peoples.

We are planning to open a consulate-general in Pusan soon to support increasing exchanges between our peoples. Many Russians are already visiting the port city.

Q: Is it true that North Korea agreed to participate in a joint project between Russia and South Korea to build gas pipelines from Siberia to South Korea?

A: As I was informed by Russian participants in the project, North Koreans officially agreed to participate in the project and allow the pipeline to run through their territory. But I don't know when and between whom the agreement was made.

Q: How are relations between Russia and North Korea?

A: We are not happy with the present state of the relationship. There are no more ideological links between the two countries. But still, we would like to see more active relations with North Korea. That's not only because North Korea is a neighbor sharing borders with us, but because we have maintained links with North Korea for many years.

As President Yeltsin said in Seoul, we have stopped all our military assistance to North Korea. We also informed both Koreas of our new interpretation of the 1961 treaty between Russia and North Korea and received an understanding from both sides.

At that time we said that the first article of the treaty would be interpreted in such a way that Russia will help North Korea only when it is attacked by third parties in an unprovoked situation.

I think there will be no additional revisions in the interpretation of the treaty for the time being. I believe this treaty to some extent helps to stabilize the situation in this region.

Q: Project the ongoing negotiations between Seoul and Moscow over the ownership of the 19th century Russian Legation in Seoul.

A: We are in favor of finding some solution to this problem. We are open to compromise. But we think our position is sound and well based. We would like to have some solution through mutual compromise. Always in diplomacy, if there is a problem, we should find some mutually beneficial compromise. But it is difficult to say how long it will take to conclude the negotiations.

Q: Has the Korean government resumed loans to your country?

A: Not yet. We are supposed to sign an agreement on our export of aluminum this month. The credit line for the loans, originally to be provided in 1992, will be reopened after the agreement is signed. The two countries will hold negotiations on the remaining amounts after our delivery of the aluminum, which is expected by June this year.

Shokhin Interviewed on Russian-Chinese Relations

LD0401150193 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] In an interview with our special correspondent Konstantin Garibov on the state and prospects of Russo-Chinese relations, the vice premier of Russia, Aleksandr Shokhin, has said that this year there is a real chance for headway in trade and economic ties between the two countries. 1992 provided a firm basis for that. The volume of trade exceeded the record level of trade between the former USSR as a whole and China two years ago. There is no doubt that cooperation will benefit from an agreement on state credit for export to Russia. Russia will import grain, vegetable oil, and other foodstuffs and consumer goods.

Mr. Shokhin described as rather prospective the decision to construct a nuclear power station in China. In accordance with this two-and-a-half billion dollars' worth project, Russia will supply industrial equipment and will

provide technical assistance in construction. Aleksandr Shokhin also reported that Russia will supply to China aircraft and spare parts to them and will provide aircraft maintenance service. Part of closer economic ties, in Mr. Shokhin's view, will be the formation of joint ventures. He estimated the current number of such ventures is over 30 today. He said that agreements or protocols had been signed to set up more than 200 joint enterprises in the processing, light and food industries and in public services. Several joint ventures are planned to be created in China itself.

On the whole, we look into the future of our relations optimistically, Aleksandr Shokhin noted. The first top level meeting between Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and Chinese leaders showed that the two countries were able to benefit by their huge cooperation potential. This common optimism rests on the capability of our economies to supplement each other, on progressive economic reforms and, last but not least, on the high level of political interaction, the vice premier of Russia's Government, Aleksandr Shokhin, stressed in conclusion of his interview with Radio Moscow.

Deputy Criticizes Kozyrev, Foreign Ministry

PM0401153393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Dec 92 p 5

[Nadezhda Garifullina report incorporating interview with Russian Federation People's Deputy Iona Andronov at Moscow's White House on 8 December 1992: "Bringing Us Down on Our Knees. Filling In the Portrait of Russia's Foreign Policy Department"]

[Text] During the Seventh Congress of Russian People's Deputies I was given an opportunity to play a part in what was almost a thriller story. Russian Federation People's Deputy Iona Andronov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Policy [as published] Relations, asked me to be present, as his confidential aide, while he was being interrogated, or rather interviewed, by a staffer of Russia's Ministry of Security. Naturally I agreed, especially since the interest shown by this terrifying service had been prompted by the letter to the president from 52 Russian Federation deputies concerning the Kuril Islands and published by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA last summer.

Thus, on 8 December, after the Congress had ended its work, we arrived at Room No. 339 at the White House. While waiting for the visitor, we recalled the circumstances surrounding this letter and President Yeltsin's failed visit to Japan.

[Garifullina] So, in their letter to the president the 52 people's deputies, including I. Andronov, exposed a secret conspiracy about the handover of the Kuril Islands to Japan.

[Andronov] That was the plan of Minister Kozyrev and his stooges. I do not think that there is any need to remind readers about it. The case has not been closed, the Japanese are back in Moscow and that selfsame man—Georgiy Fridrikhovich Kunadze, Kozyrev's right-hand man and the backstage driving force as regards the handover of our islands to the Japanese—is again in charge of these talks. It became known last spring that some members of the president's entourage are urging him to hand over four Russian islands to the Japanese. These people disregard the people's moods, our traditions, and the Constitution. After all, it is enshrined in the Constitution and the Declaration of Russia's State Sovereignty that any handover of territory to any other state is permissible only after a nationwide referendum and provided the results of such a referendum are approved by the Congress of People's Deputies. And yet Mr. Burbulis, who headed the state commission for preparations for Yeltsin's visit to Tokyo last August, said that the solution of territorial questions is the president's prerogative.

[Garifullina] But any encroachment upon the state's territorial integrity is a felony which entails criminal liability under Article 64—treason against the motherland!

[Andronov] Public indignation really swelled at the time when the plans by these people—here is a list of them: Burbulis, Poltoranin, Kozyrev, Kunadze—started being widely discussed. I joined other deputies in the counteroffensive not only because I am categorically against the handover of part of our territory but also because I believe that this would start a chain reaction of territorial claims and will weaken the positions of the president who is one of the pillars of political stability. If he is charged with treason, with betrayal, and if we lose the president and the presidency, this will snowball and lead to an explosion of separatist moods and we will end up with something akin to the principality of Moscow under Ivan Kalita.

I tried to convince people that, for the sake of peace in society, there was no need for Boris Nikolayevich to travel to Japan. If he were to hand over the islands he would be betraying the homeland; if he did not, he would be insulted there. We were putting the president on the spot. But a tiny group of advisers drafted a plan for the islands' handover in three stages. In subsequent interviews I named the authors of the plan, which was in the form of a memorandum to the president. They were Minister of Foreign Affairs A.V. Kozyrev and V.P. Lukin, former chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs.

[Garifullina] What happened next?

[Andronov] A couple of days later the Ministry of Foreign Affairs leadership released on television and in the press an official refutation to the effect that the plan exposed by Deputy Andronov was a product of his imagination.

Kunadze, who was holding talks in Tokyo at the time and was cooking up that entire concoction about the islands, told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA: Andronov, he said, is at best a mentally unstable person and at worst guilty of high treason. What constituted the crime? He publicized some imaginary document which is absolutely nonexistent. Therefore, Andronov "ought to be investigated by the competent organs"—Russia's Ministry of Security and

Prosecutor's Office. I wrote an open letter to the editor of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, but it of course remained unpublished, they only carried a mocking note.... Here we are now, at Congress time, awaiting a visitor from the Ministry of Security.

The plan's authors continued to work on the president and prepare him for the visit. By early August, one of the people closest to president—Mikhail Poltoranin, vice premier and minister of mass information and the press—went, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs official announcement, on a working visit to Japan and began talks on the Kuril Islands. While he was still there he agitated in favor of handing over our islands to the Japanese and used abusive, almost unprintable words—I still have the relevant clippings—against his opponents in the Supreme Soviet.

I was especially keen to find out more about the circumstances surrounding Poltoranin's visit. It emerged that he had been given certain powers. I also found out something else: In actual fact, while on Japanese territory, all his expenses were met in full by the Japanese. The Japanese side paid all the expensive air fares from Moscow to Tokyo and back for Poltoranin and his group, and they were booked at the "Imperial," one of Tokyo's most expensive hotels where an average room costs $1,000 a day. The Japanese paid thousands and thousands of dollars on their behalf. Air fares, limousines, feasts. There you have someone acting on behalf of the Russian Government and president while in the pocket of the Japanese, discussing territorial questions with them....

On his return to Moscow Poltoranin declared in a public interview: "The Japanese spent about $20,000 on us, but this is only a fraction of the visit's total cost, and a tiny fraction at that. They got their full money's worth from me during those two days." And the rest!

[Garifullina] And society swallowed the vice premier's public admission....

[Andronov] And to make up for it, the Ministry of Security launched a secret investigation of a member of the Supreme Soviet. It had started earlier, but this fact gave it a fresh impetus, of course. It involved a preliminary investigation by the Ministry of Security of a crime involving "publication" of a state secret. Being a member of parliament, I am not bound to give any testimony, but I displayed good will. This is why I invited you to this meeting, to avoid any possible lies.... [Andronov answer ends]

So, Iona Ionovich and I reconstituted the background of events while waiting for the Ministry of Security staffer to arrive. A pleasant middle-aged man soon appeared, a colonel, Russian. The questioning focused on a telegram sent by Kunadze from Tokyo 17 July, which Iona Ionovich and I remembered from remarks made in the course of the conversation. The telegram said:

A few days ago SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published an open letter from 52 Russian Federation Supreme Soviet deputies, addressed to B.N. Yeltsin. This letter refers to a memorandum on possible developments regarding the territorial issue with Japan, submitted by us to Russia's president in December 1991. By way of further pursuing this episode, the Japanese newspaper NIHON KEIZAI published on 15 July an interview with I. Andronov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs, in which he publicized the contents of the aforementioned memorandum almost verbatim. I deem it necessary to emphasize that the memorandum in question could become the basis for our negotiating positions with the Japanese....

This was followed by accusations of revealing a state secret, this being the draft plan for handing over the South Kuril Islands to Japan.

And so, in my presence, the colonel methodically tried to determine how Andronov had found out about the secret memorandum. It was strange to observe: A representative of the security service calling on a people's deputy and member of the Supreme Soviet to investigate... the circumstances of an alleged revelation of a state secret. But, as a state security officer and a citizen, is he not at all worried that a conspiracy is being hatched behind the backs of the people and parliament to hand over part of the country's territory to another state. That is the crime....

This reflection, of course, confused the colonel. "You must realize," he replied, "I am an official and have been assigned to this case."

An interesting development. Back in July Minister Kozyrev, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs official spokesman, refuted the letter of the 52, assuring his compatriots that there was no secret plan or draft to hand over the Kuril Islands to Japan. But if the Ministry of Security, following in Kunadze's footsteps, is charging Deputy Andronov with publication of a secret document, does this prove that the deputies were right in the first place?

"Here are the authors," Iona Ionovich remarked: The memorandum was signed by Kozyrev, while Kunadze drafted and implemented everything.

Soon enough, the conversation with the colonel made it clear: The secret memorandum, which is at the center of the investigation, has gone astray in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In other words, the case is based on a document that has been lost. It also emerged that the document was not disseminated through any secret channels and it was not classified....

"This document is not lost," Andronov explained to the colonel. "It was not shown to you to prevent you from seeing for yourself the treasonous plans for handing over Russian territory. They want to take revenge on those who revealed their secret plan. You, like sniffer dogs, are being used to sniff out patriots. Tell this to your minister and to those who sent you here: Whenever and by whatever means I come across any document which reveals a conspiracy to betray my country, and especially to hand over part of its territory to foreigners, I will not only publicize it but will also do everything to wreck such plans. I will do

this time and again. This is my duty as a deputy and the law will protect me, people will back me up."

On parting, we felt that the colonel was somewhat ill at ease....

Following the visitor's departure, we continued our conversation about Russia's foreign policy department and its leader.

[Garifullina] Iona Ionovich, the announcement by the "Russian Unity" opposition bloc about the agreement between the Russian Federation and the United States of America, signed by B. Yeltsin and Bush in Washington 17 June 1992, on the safe and reliable transportation, storage, and destruction of weapons and the prevention of arms proliferation, produced the effect of an exploding bomb at the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies. It was immediately followed by refutations and scoffing commentaries in the progovernment press: This cannot be because it is altogether impossible. Later on, thanks to the deputies' persistence, the government press center admitted: Yes, the agreement does exist. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published on 8 December our conversation on this topic, but at that time the investigation of the circumstances surrounding the conclusion of this treaty, obviously unequal and humiliating for Russia, was only just getting under way and many questions were yet to be answered. Are you satisfied with the conclusion by the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, and with the way this question was examined by the Congress?

[Andronov] I think that I am not the only one who is dissatisfied with the conclusion. Over the course of several days the deputies demanded a truthful explanation. But the situation was so heated, that was the time of the fragile compromise worked out by Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and Zorkin. Thus the Congress leadership evidently got scared that the Congress would be blown apart if the question of the agreement were to be examined as well, since the Americans are using this document to simply wipe their feet on Russia's sovereignty. The Congress leadership decided to sweep it under the carpet, giving instructions that it should be examined by the Supreme Soviet. Note this, however: The question was not included on the session agenda before the new year, it is being put off as far into the future as possible.

[Garifullina] You asked senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to submit the "list of concurrences" so as to determine who was privy to it. Was it ultimately submitted?

[Andronov] In my view, the key point in the agreement was the fact that the Americans have the right to ship out of Russia any materials, any objects, any equipment, any services... without any customs inspection. Not being an expert, I asked myself: What would they want to ship out? Secret materials? Technologies? Valuables? And why, in general, should the Americans need to plant a bomb in such a specific military agreement? I demanded that the "list of concurrences" be submitted and came up against blank stares. Questions were asked on Aleksandr Georgiyevich Khodakov, deputy director of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs Legal Department, who told me that he had been directly involved in elaborating this agreement and passing it on to Yeltsin. He even decided who should retain as memento the pen used by the president to sign it. And yet Khodakov looked aside and said he did not know. Fine, I said, explain to me what it is the Americans want to ship out, what is the meaning of these conditions. It appeared that he could not answer. Perhaps the military would answer, or maybe someone else. He seemed to imply that someone else is responsible for this agreement. But not the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, not its chief Kozyrev.

I asked the same question of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Berdennikov, who is in charge of disarmament matters at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and also attended the signing ceremony, and Berdennikov told me that he knew nothing. I looked this man in the face and realized that he knew but was afraid—maybe for his own career. I could only hazard a guess that this had been the minister's doing.... I was then handed a document entitled "Report on Concurrence to the Draft Directive of the Russian Federation President on the Russian President's Forthcoming Visit to the United States...." But it did not contain a single word about the agreement, only technical questions concerning backup for the visit and the names of third-level individuals. I asked: What are you trying to palm off on me? Then Minister of Atomic Energy Viktor Nikitovich Mikhaylov appeared as main defender of this agreement at the Congress.

[Garifullina] Does it not seem strange to you that Article III of the agreement, which covers nuclear, chemical, and other weapons, should read: "Each party will appoint an executive organ for the implementation of this agreement. The Ministry of Atomic Energy will be the Russian Federation's executive organ as regards nuclear weapons. The Department of Defense will be the United States' executive organ."

[Andronov] I especially made a point of asking about this—it appears that the agreement was concluded altogether without Minister of Defense Pavel Grachev's knowledge. It is said that he got angry when he read the text of the agreement and even said that those who palmed off this text of the agreement on the president ought to stand trial. I heard this not from Grachev himself but from someone who spoke with him. Just think of it: We are concluding a disarmament treaty and the minister of defense is bypassed!

They tried and tried to cover up the various loose ends but, as the saying goes, there is no secret that will not come out. Kozyrev suddenly took the floor right after Grachev's statement at the closed congress session on military affairs and started pacifying everyone: There is no need, he said, to fear this agreement, it is a framework agreement, in other words a general agreement, it has detailed protocols and these protocols apparently specify everything, the containers that the Americans would use to ship things out of Russia will be inspected....

Kozyrev lied to the Congress! I requested all these detailed protocols from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and looked at them. There is not a single word about monitoring shipments out of Russia by the U.S. side. Moreover the basic agreement, which Kozyrev described as a framework agreement, says that it prevails over all other agreements. And the "framework agreement" says: No checks, no inspection, no monitoring. The minister is evidently banking on the deputies' lack of knowledge and on the assumption that nobody would find out.

It is well known that the main agreement was signed by Presidents Yeltsin and Bush. The detailed documents are also signed, but by whom? "On behalf of the Ministry of Atomic Energy—A. Kozyrev." It appears that Mikhaylov was almost totally ignorant of all this. Kozyrev is the one who tripped up the president, the one who committed this perfectly obvious betrayal of the motherland's interests, the one who led the Congress by the nose and forced his subordinates to find their own way out of it all! As a matter of fact, this method is only too typical of Kozyrev—to betray and then to deceive his own people, and then to trip up anyone he might find convenient, be it the president or a minister from another department.

Last spring I was in the Dniester Region at the same time as Vice President Rutskoy. It was evident even then that there was only one way to save the dying civilians in Bendery and in neighboring cities and villages—either to introduce peacemaking forces there or to utilize the 14th Army. At that time the 14th Army was left with just one single Russian division, but this would have been sufficient to simply separate the sides. Without interfering in their affairs, without making any political decisions on their behalf to resolve the conflict itself! The main point was to halt the killing of ordinary civilians.

This is why I proposed that the Sixth Congress give a hearing to Rutskoy, and the vice president recommended the urgent use of the 14th Army which was stationed there to halt the slaughter, and only then to embark on the process of peace talks. The Congress showed understanding for this and, as you may recall, adopted the relevant decree.

Right away, however, immediately following Rutskoy, the president sent Kozyrev to Moldova and he torpedoed all proposals by the vice president and decisions by the Congress. Kozyrev organized fresh talks. He involved the Romanians in the talks, excluded representatives of the Dniester Region from them, and knocked together an agreement which, at that time, ruled out the use of Russian troops to halt the bloody slaughter. It proclaimed peace in words, but offered no guarantees at all. And matters spun off along a fresh spiral. People started getting killed again....

Some people say: Kozyrev is making mistakes. These are no mistakes. He is betraying the ethnic Russians. I saw him doing it in the Baltics. As member of the Russian Federation state delegation for talks with Latvia, I took part in talks with the Lettish nationalists who are now in power, I met them both here in Moscow and in Riga—at the trial of Sergey Parfenov. There you have it, Kozyrev is sending his emissaries over there behind the Russian delegation's back, and is implementing a policy of betraying ethnic Russians.

I told him bluntly at the Supreme Soviet: "Andrey Vladimirovich, your hands are stained with the blood of our people from the Dniester Region, maybe only partially, but stained nevertheless." Did I start something! This man, always so weighty and wishing to appear impressive, literally exploded, jumped out of his seat, and started waving his hands. His stooges joined in the attack—several of our deputies are only too eager to become diplomats, some of them have already received diplomatic postings—feeling, of course, duty bound to register their support for Mr. Minister Kozyrev. They went for me: This is an insult by Andronov!

But it is my people who have been insulted! The minister regularly makes speeches about upholding Russia's national interests but at the same time does the exact opposite.

I managed on several occasions to prove that in actual fact Kozyrev's mistakes are not mistakes, that this is the line pursued by him and his entourage. I mean Deputy Minister Kunadze, his right-hand man who not only conducts policy with Eastern countries but also posts Ministry of Foreign Affairs cadres. Until recently this group also included Shelov-Kovedyayev, whom I also told publicly that he was betraying the interests of our compatriots, only to receive smirks in response.

[Garifullina] Iona Ionovich, Afghanistan is another one of our anguishes, and we cannot ignore it. I think that your path crossed with that of Kozyrev's department there as well?

[Andronov] I have only just returned from Kabul, where not a single Russian has remained since August. Our embassy was evacuated or, to put it more simply, fled. We are left with a consulate in a small Afghan city in the north of the country, not far from the border, but we have had no direct contacts with Afghanistan's central government since last summer. I traveled there on a familiarization trip in my capacity as member of the Supreme Soviet, having been instructed by R.I. Khasbulatov to put out feelers about the resumption of direct contacts and to raise the question of POW's. After all, everything has been broken off. Since Ruslan Imranovich is chairman of the Interparliamentary Assembly of CIS Countries, it would have been useful to have a chat with the mujahidin leaders—I know many of them—and determine whether we could agree with them on putting an end to subversion in Tajikistan.

I had no powers to conduct talks. I traveled as a parliamentarian, with the knowledge of the chairman of parliament, to study the situation. I met with the country's president, the commander in chief, the ministers of defense, security, foreign affairs, and transport, and representatives of the groupings fighting against them.

It emerged that they are asking for our embassy's return, everything is grinding to a halt there without us—buses

and trucks; there are no medicines, no foodstuffs. I visited a children's hospital and several children's homes, I saw children dying of hunger. People asked me: Send us a little flour and some medicines from Russia, give us at least a little humanitarian aid. I am now trying to persuade the Supreme Soviet leadership to launch a public campaign to collect aid for Kabul's starving children. People there have neither water not electricity. neither fuel nor kerosene. The mountains are snowed under, people are freezing. It seems to me that, after everything that has happened there in the last few years, we could make a gesture of good will and send as much aid for the children as we can. I am convinced that the Afghans' views and moods would undergo change. This is not a trade-off. People who fought against us and killed our guys for so many years on end are now saying: Come back, let us cooperate.

But this probably still lies in the future. Meanwhile, while in Kabul, I saw right outside the half-destroyed airport building the huge skeleton of one of the last three Il-86 transports sent there to evacuate our embassy—it has been left there on purpose. It was hit by a rocket, it crash-landed, and was consumed by fire. Part of the fuselage with its red lettering is reaching for the sky.... I perceive this not only as a symbol of the policy I saw pursued in Afghanistan for more than 10 years, but also as a symbol of Kozyrev's policy because, between January of this year and the time of our flight from there, he pursued his own line there and prevented any interference by those who wanted to help Russia stay on and maintain its relations with Afghanistan. He simply did not allow it....

As you may recall, in December of last year Vice President Rutskoy conducted talks with a delegation of Afghan mujahidin headed by current President Rabbani, which ended with the adoption of a joint communique. Points of contact were found, and in December Rutskoy made a 10-day tour taking in Tehran, Islamabad, Lahore, and Karachi so as to retain, and maybe even strengthen, Russia's positions on the eve of what were already perfectly understandable changes. There was also another supertask. The epicenter of the Islamic world lies there now, and it was necessary to organize Russia's relations with its new leaders.

The result of this tour was extremely valuable. Rutskoy proved to be an exceptionally patient diplomat. He established personal relations of trust with all leaders of Afghan groupings, reached agreement with Rabbani, Masoud, and Hekmatyar, and even reached mutual understanding as regards POW's. In other words, on the eve of the Najibullah regime's departure, Russia was in a position where it could not lose.

And yet, on his return to Moscow, he found himself out of favor. On 2 January Mr. Kozyrev sent to the Kremlin something akin to a denunciation, entitled "On the Results of A. Rutskoy's Working Visit to Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan," claiming that Rutskoy had supposedly caused a certain amount of damage to Russia. I addressed a deputy's question to the minister in this regard, asking him to adduce trustworthy facts as confirmation of his false accusations. The reply was silence.

Since January Kozyrev has taken everything in his own hands, blocking all attempts to remedy the situation. I flew to Afghanistan twice since, and coded messages were sent on both occasions: Stop Andronov, send him back. It is ridiculous but I, a member of the Supreme Soviet, even had to go underground and hide from our embassies, which managed to track me down and show me the coded messages.

[Garifullina] What is the essence of your differences?

[Andronov] Kozyrev's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is banking on just one ethnic minority in Afghanistan, with which Rutskoy also established contacts. These are Rabbani and the Tajiks. Yes, we need to cooperate with them, but when talking about the war—and it has now become interethnic—we must under no circumstances interfere in their internal affairs or support one side against another. The result of Kozyrev's policy is evident: Our embassy has fled, ties have been broken off, our guys are still in captivity....

[Garifullina] What would you say about Kozyrev's recent scandalous statement in Stockholm?....

[Andronov] An altogether unique occasion. It will, of course, go down in the annals of diplomatic history. As an act of shameful policy pursued by a great power's minister of foreign affairs. After all, Kozyrev described the situation in Russia as if the opposition is ready to apply force in the international arena, and its effect was obvious: He provoked among the politicians of many countries fear of and hatred for many of his compatriots, whose only fault is that their political views are different from Kozyrev's. Thus, our minister of foreign affairs essentially pitted the West European ministers and other leaders against his compatriots, despite the fact that his mission is to represent and protect them all, without any exception, abroad. In any other country such a minister would have been immediately recalled and stripped of office. And yet Kozyrev gets away with everything.

[Garifullina] Let us sum up. Can the minister pursue an autonomous course, bypassing the president for example? After all, Kozyrev is not an island in the middle of the ocean....

[Andronov] Of course, of course. We said at the very beginning that the course of damaging our national-state interests was pursued not by Kozyrev alone but by the entire cohort of his associates.

As regards the president, he also refuses to answer such questions. He comes to the Supreme Soviet, delivers a speech, but we are not allowed to question him. I would like to ask him at long last: "Oh master of ours, Boris Nikolayevich! How much longer?!" We deputies are denied such an opportunity, but as soon as a break is announced Boris Nikolayevich beckons the journalists: "Come on, I will answer your questions!" What sort of behavior is this?

Now we have a new premier—Viktor Chernomyrdin. I am extremely impressed by his creed—advocating profound reforms but without impoverishing the people. Brilliant! Let

us also advocate profound reforms of the foreign policy course, but without denigrating Russia and without damaging its national-state interests....

Grachev on Condemned Soldier's Return From Azerbaijan

LD3112153592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0600 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Interview with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and Lieutenant Lukin, a soldier released after being condemned to death in Azerbaijan, by unidentified correspondent; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Lieutenant Lukin, who was condemned in Azerbaijan to be shot, has been brought to Russia on a special flight from Baku.

[Correspondent] Did you believe that you would be released? Or did you think that maybe they would forget about you?

[Lukin] As a citizen of the Russian Federation, I believed that I would not be forgotten by my government and that in the end the government would take...[pauses] well, would sort out my fate once and for all.

[Grachev] All that time we made efforts, of course, jointly with the bodies of the procuracy of Russia, jointly with the deputy corps, and with the president of Russia personally. We met Elchibey, Mr. Elchibey, president of Azerbaijan, on the matter, and an understanding was reached that he would personally undertake to secure the return home of Lt. Lukin and the further investigation of that case by the law enforcement bodies of the Russian Federation.

[Correspondent] Pavel Sergeyevich, are there any other Lt. Lukins beyond the boundaries of the Russian Federation?

[Grachev] Beyond the boundaries of the Russian Federation there are not only Lt. Lukins, captains, and majors, but there are also privates, sergeants, whose names are known to us. We also know their whereabouts. The most active work is being carried out now, also by the Ministry of Defense, to bring our servicemen home, to investigate further these cases on the territory of the Russian Federation, as they concern citizens of the Russian Federation.

Georgian Permanent Mission in Moscow Becomes Embassy

OW3112182792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian government has transformed the republic's permanent mission to Moscow to the Embassy of Georgia to the Russian Federation beginning December 30.

The Embassy's press center reports that the permanent representative of Georgia to Moscow, Petr Chkheidze, was appointed the Charge d'Affairs ad interim of Georgia to Russia until the appointment of the Ambassador.

Law on Council of Ministers Published

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[Russian Federation Law "On the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government," signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin, dated Moscow, Russia's House of Soviets, 22 December 1992, under serial number 4174-1]

[Text] I. General Provisions

Article 1. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers—supreme organ of state administration in the Russian Federation

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is an organ of executive power in the Russian Federation, accountable to the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and the Russian Federation president.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers is a collegial organ which heads the system of organs of state administration and ensures their coordinated activity.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers is empowered to decide questions of state administration which fall within the Russian Federation's sphere of competence under the Russian Federation's laws and Constitution.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers has the right to initiate legislation.

Article 2. Legal basis of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers activity

The structure of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, its powers, and the procedure governing the Russian Federation Council of Ministers activity and its relations with other state organs are determined by the Russian Federation Law "On the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government" on the basis of the Russian Federation Constitution.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers acts on the basis of and in compliance with the Russian Federation Constitution, this law, other Russian Federation laws, decrees of the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and edicts and directives of the Russian Federation president.

Article 3. Basic principles of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers' activity

In its activity, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers is guided by the principles of people's power, federalism, separation of powers, legality, and glasnost.

Article 4. The Russian Federation president's leadership of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers' activity

The Russian Federation president—head of executive power in the Russian Federation—leads the activity of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and takes measures to ensure that the Russian Federation Government effectively exercises its powers.

Article 5. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers activity in organizing the implementation of Russian Federation laws

Within the bounds of its powers, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government organizes the implementation of Russian Federation laws and of other acts by the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, systematically monitors the implementation of Russian Federation laws, other acts by other Russian Federation organs of executive power and by organs of executive powers in the republics within the Russian Federation, the autonomous oblast, the autonomous okrugs, the oblasts and krays, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and adopts measures to eliminate any breaches thereof.

Article 6. Mutual relations between the Russian Federation Council of Ministers and public organizations and movements

On questions falling within its charge, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers collaborates with political parties, public organizations, movements, and other associations, and offers them the necessary assistance in compliance with the law.

II. Composition of and Procedure for Forming the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

Article 7. Composition of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers consists of the chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, the first deputy chairmen of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, the deputy chairmen of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, ministers, and chairmen of the Russian Federation state committees.

The chairmen of the governments of republics within the Russian Federation and the leader of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers apparatus are ex officio members of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

At the suggestion of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman, the Russian Federation president may include in the Russian Federation Government the leaders of other central organs of state administration subordinate to the Russian Federation Government.

Article 8. Appointment of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman is appointed by the Russian Federation president subject to approval by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. The appointment of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman is ratified by the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies.

If the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet disagrees with the Russian Federation president's nominee for the office

of Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman, or if the Russian Federation Congress of People's deputies fails to ratify his appointment, the Russian Federation president has the power to appoint an acting chairman of the Russian Federation Government for a period not exceeding three months and is bound to submit another nominee for the office of Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman prior to the expiry of this period.

Article 9. Appointment and dismissal of members of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

The first deputy chairmen of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, the deputy chairmen of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, the Russian Federation ministers, and the chairmen of Russian Federation state committees are appointed and dismissed by the Russian Federation president on submission by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman. The Russian Federation minister of foreign affairs, the Russian Federation minister of defense, the Russian Federation minister of security, and the Russian Federation minister of internal affairs are appointed by the Russian Federation president subject to approval by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

The leaders of other central organs of state administration subordinate to the Russian Federation Government are appointed to and dismissed from the office of members of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers by the Russian Federation president on submission by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman.

Article 10. Term of office of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

The Russian Federation Government acts for the duration of the Russian Federation president's term and submits its resignation to the newly elected Russian Federation president, but remains in office until a new Russian Federation Government is formed.

Article 11. Resignation of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government

Any decision on the resignation of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers is adopted by the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies or the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by a vote of no confidence in the Russian Federation Government. Any question of confidence in the Russian Federation Government is decided by the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies by a majority of votes from the total number of Russian Federation people's deputies, or by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by a majority of votes from the total number of people's deputies in each of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chambers.

Any decision on the Russian Federation Government's resignation on the Russian Federation president's initiative is adopted by him subject to approval by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and members of the Russian Federation Government are entitled to submit their resignation collectively or individually. In such an event, the question of the resignation of the Russian Federation Government or of a member of the Russian Federation Government is decided by the Russian Federation president.

The resignation of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman entails the resignation of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers in full.

If the Russian Federation Council of Ministers resigns, the Russian Federation president is bound to form a new Russian Federation Government, having instructed the former Russian Federation Council of Ministers to remain in office until a new Russian Federation Government is formed, but for a term not to exceed three months from the day the decision on resignation was adopted.

Article 12. Occupations which are not compatible with membership of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman, his first deputies, his deputies, ministers, chairmen of Russian Federation state committees, other members of the Russian Federation Government, and their deputies cannot simultaneously be Russian Federation people's deputies.

Members of the Russian Federation Government cannot hold any other office in state, commercial, or public organs and organizations and have no right to engage in entrepreneurial activity or any other paid work apart from lecturing, scientific, or other creative work.

III. Relations Between the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and the Russian Federation Organs of Legislative Power

Article 13. Relations between the Russian Federation Council of Ministers and the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet

The Russian Federation Government elaborates drafts of the most important programs for the Russian Federation's economic and social development and drafts of the Russian Federation's federal budget and amendments thereto, and submits reports on progress in their implementation to the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

The Russian Federation's federal budget is ratified by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet on submission by the Russian Federation president. Following the federal budget's ratification, any draft laws involving reduction of the federal budget revenues or increase of its expenditure are examined by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet on the basis of a relevant conclusion by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet hears annual reports by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman on the activity of the Russian Federation

Council of Ministers, as well as reports by members of the Russian Federation Government on questions within their charge, and adopts relevant decrees.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers submits to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, its chambers, the chambers' standing commissions, and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committees documents and other materials concerning its activity whenever requested by them to do so.

Article 14. Replies to questions by Russian Federation people's deputies and by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committees and its chambers' standing commissions

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers or any member of the Russian Federation Government to whom a question has been addressed at a sitting of the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies or a session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by a Russian Federation people's deputy, a group of Russian Federation people's deputies, or a committee of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet or a standing commission of its chambers concerning the activity of the Russian Federation Government or one of its subordinate organs of state administration, is bound to give a verbal or written reply to the Congress of People's Deputies or the session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet within a period of three days.

Article 15. Relations between the Russian Federation Council of Ministers and the standing commissions of the chambers and the committees of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

Relations between the Russian Federation Council of Ministers and the standing commissions of the chambers and the committees of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet are regulated by the Russian Federation legislation.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers examines recommendations and proposals by the standing commissions of the chambers and the committees of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet on questions concerning the activity of the Russian Federation Government and takes the necessary measures to implement them. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers informs the relevant standing commissions and Supreme Soviet committees of the results of its examination of recommendations and proposals and the measures it has taken within the time period agreed by them.

Article 16. Participation by members of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers in the examination of issues by organs of the Russian Federation legislative power

Members of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers are entitled to attend and be given a hearing at sittings of the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies, sessions of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and sittings of the chambers' standing commissions and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committees.

If Russian Federation people's deputies raise questions concerning the activity of the Russian Federation Government or the activity of members of the government, the chairman of the Russian Federation Government is entitled to receive from the Russian Federation people's deputies all necessary clarifications on these questions.

IV. Relations Between the Russian Federation Council of Ministers and the Governments of Republics Within the Russian Federation and Administrations of the Autonomous Oblast, Autonomous Okrugs, Krays, Oblasts, and Cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg

Article 17. Relations between the Russian Federation Council of Ministers and the governments of republics within the Russian Federation

Within the bounds of its competence and with a view to ensuring a combination of the interests of the Russian Federation and the republics within the Russian Federation in the sphere of state administration, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers directs and checks the work of the councils of ministers of the republics within the Russian Federation.

Together with the governments of the republics within the Russian Federation, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers determines the extent and procedure for participation in implementing federal programs, joint projects, and measures to eliminate the consequences of emergencies. The governments of republics within the Russian Federation are entitled to submit to the Russian Federation Government proposals regarding matters within the charge of federal organs of state power, and these are subject to mandatory examination in the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is entitled to delegate to the governments of republics within the Russian Federation, on the basis of agreements with them, the implementation of some of its powers regarding matters within the joint charge of federal organs of state power and organs of state power of the republics within the Russian Federation. The governments of republics within the Russian Federation can delegate to the Russian Federation Government the implementation of some of their powers on the basis of agreements.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers refers the drafts of its most important decrees on matters within the joint charge of federal organs of state power and the organs of state power of republics within the Russian Federation to the governments of republics within the Russian Federation in order to take their proposals into account. Proposals in the form of decisions by the governments of republics within the Russian Federation must be taken into account in the decisions of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

With a view to implementing its decrees and directives throughout the Russian Federation's territory, within the limits of its competence the Russian Federation Council of Ministers has the right to suspend the implementation of decrees and directives of the governments of republics

within the Russian Federation and to question them and obtain from them information about the fulfillment of Russian Federation Government decisions.

Article 18. Relations between the Russian Federation Council of Ministers and the administrations of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers coordinates the activity of the administrations of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg on matters within the charge of the federal organs of state power, and also on matters within the joint charge of federal organs of state power and the organs of state power of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Together with the administrations of the autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg the Russian Federation Council of Ministers determines the procedure for and extent of their participation in implementing federal programs and joint projects and mobilizes financial and material resources to eliminate the consequences of emergencies.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers assists the administrations of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg in organizing management processes and helps to create the conditions for the development of local self-management.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers examines proposals from the administrations of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg on questions in the charge of federal organs of state power, on questions in the joint charge of federal organs of state power and the organs of state power of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and also on questions of interterritorial significance.

The drafts of the most important Russian Federation Council of Ministers decrees concerning the development of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are referred to the relevant administration.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers has the right to rescind decisions by the administration of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg which contravene legislation.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers is entitled, on the basis of agreements, to delegate the implementation of some of its powers to the administration of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. In turn, the administration of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg can delegate to the Russian Federation Government the implementation of some of their powers on the basis of agreements.

Article 19. Settling disagreements between the Russian Federation Council of Ministers and organs of executive power of the republics within the Russian Federation, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers ensures that Russian Federation central organs of state administration observe the rights of organs of executive power of the republics within the Russian Federation, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg and facilitates their collaboration.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers and the organs of state administration under its jurisdiction are not entitled to interfere in the competence of organs of executive power of republics within the Russian Federation, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Decisions by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers violating their rights can be appealed by the supreme soviets of republics within the Russian Federation and the soviets of people's deputies of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg before the Russian Federation president, the Russian Federation Constitutional Court, or the Russian Federation Supreme Court of Arbitration in accordance with their competence.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers resolves disputes and disagreements between central organs of state administration of the Russian Federation and the governments of republics within the Russian Federation and administrations of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, ministries, Russian Federation state committees, and other organs under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers. [sentence as published]

At the proposal of the governments of republics within the Russian Federation and administrations of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers can examine disagreements between the organs indicated in the present article.

V. Basic Questions of the Competence of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

Article 20. Powers of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers in the spheres of economic and sociocultural development

Within the limits of its powers the Russian Federation Council of Ministers:

1. Manages economic and sociocultural processes and creates the conditions for free enterprise on the basis of the

rational combination of all forms of ownership, demonopolization of the economy, and implementation of the legal mechanism of a market economy;

facilitates the implementation of measures to strengthen the monetary and credit system in the Russian Federation and elaborates and implements measures to pursue a unified prices policy and to ensure guarantees of the legally established amount of remuneration and level of social security;

organizes the elaboration and implementation of the Russian Federation federal budget and also forecasts for the Russian Federation's economic and social development and the most important federal programs;

ensures in accordance with Russian Federation laws and edicts of the Russian Federation president normative regulation and the leadership of organs of executive power regarding the protection of property rights throughout the territory of the Russian Federation;

implements measure to develop science and technology and to make rational use of and conserve natural resources.

2. Ensures support for the least socially protected population groups and implementation of citizens' social guarantees;

elaborates directions in state social policy, takes measures to ensure the social and legal protection of citizens and their right to work, and improves the social security system;

determines the main directions in the development and improvement of health care and public education and facilitates the development of culture.

3. Implements measures to defend the state's interests, protect public order, and safeguard and defend citizens' rights and freedoms;

takes measures to ensure state security and defense capability and to protect the Russian Federation's state borders.

4. Coordinates the work of organs of state administration for the joint implementation of nature conservation measures and implementation of major environmental programs of interrepublican (federal) significance and takes measures to eliminate the consequences of major accidents and disasters, and also natural disasters.

5. Ensures leadership in the sphere of the Russian Federation's relations with foreign states and international organizations;

ensures representation of the Russian Federation in foreign states and international organizations, concludes intergovernmental agreements, and takes measures for the implementation of the Russian Federation's international treaties;

implements leadership in the sphere of foreign trade and other types of foreign economic activity and scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation.

Article 21. General questions of the leadership of ministries, state committees, and other organs of state administration under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers unites and directs the work of ministries, state committees, and other organs of state administration under its jurisdiction.

Russian Federation ministries, state committees, and departments are central organs of sectoral and intersectoral management, are subordinate to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, and are responsible for the implementation of the tasks entrusted to them.

Russian Federation ministries, state committees, and departments are formed, reorganized, and abolished by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet at the proposal of the Russian Federation president.

The competence and procedure for the organization and activity of ministries, state committees, and other organs of state administration under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers are regulated by the Russian Federation Law on Central Organs of State Administration in the Russian Federation.

Where necessary the Russian Federation Council of Ministers forms committees, main administrations and other departments under the Russian Federation Council of Ministers within the limits of the appropriations laid down by the Russian Federation federal budget for the maintenance of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

With a view to implementing the powers of Russian Federation ministries and state committees, their territorial organs may be set up in republics within the Russian Federation, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, cities, and rayons.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers resolves questions of organizing the management of the industrial, construction, and agricultural enterprises and organizations and transport and communications enterprises placed within federal ownership, and also other state organizations, and assists the development and strengthening of new forms of economic management within the limits laid down by Russian Federation legislation.

Statutes on ministries, state committees, and other organs of state administration under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers are approved by the Russian Federation president or, on his instructions, by the Russian Federation Government.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers lays down the maximum number of personnel of the central apparatus of ministries, state committees, and other organs of state administration under its jurisdiction and the extent of appropriations for maintaining them.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers appoints and dismisses deputy ministers and deputy chairmen of state committees and the leaders and deputy leaders of committees, main administrations, and other organs of state administration under the Russian Federation Council of Ministers and approves the members of the collegiums of ministries and state committees and other organs of state administration under its jurisdiction, and also the members of state committees.

Where necessary the Russian Federation Council of Ministers can delegate the solution of certain questions of state administration within its competence to Russian Federation ministries, state committees, and other organs of state administration under its jurisdiction unless the resolution of these questions is categorized by the Russian Federation Constitution and laws as a matter of the exclusive competence of the Russian Federation Government.

Article 22. The list of Russian Federation ministries and state committees

The list of Russian Federation ministries, state committees, and departments is approved and amended by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet at the submission of the Russian Federation president.

Article 23. Monitoring by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers of the activity of organs under its jurisdiction

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers monitors the activity of Russian Federation ministries and state committees and other organs of state administration under its jurisdiction.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers takes measures to ensure that ministries, state committees, and other organs of state administration under its jurisdiction make full use of the powers granted to them in order to fulfill the tasks entrusted to them and implement their functions.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers has the right to repeal acts by Russian Federation ministries, state committees, and other organs of state administration under its jurisdiction.

VI. Organization of and procedure for the activity of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government

Article 24. Questions on which decisions are adopted exclusively at sittings of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

The most important questions of state administration and economic and sociocultural development are resolved at sittings of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

The following takes place exclusively at sittings of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers:

questions of the preparation and implementation of the Russian Federation federal budget and of the formation and utilization of the state nonbudgetary funds within the charge of the Russian Federation Government are examined;

draft programs for the economic and social development of the Russian Federation and its individual regions are examined;

proposals regarding the volume of the issue of state securities and the limits for the increase in the Russian Federation's state internal and external debt are examined;

the list of output, goods, and services to which fixed state prices apply is laid down;

proposals for establishing and changing tax rates are examined;

the drafts of annual programs for the privatization of state-owned facilities and proposals regarding the main spheres in which the proceeds of privatization are to be used are examined;

decisions are made regarding the preparation and submission to the Russian Federation president of proposals on forming, reorganizing, or eliminating Russian Federation ministries and state committees;

decisions are made on signing international intergovernmental treaties;

decisions are made on signing agreements with the councils of ministers of republics within the Russian Federation and the administrations of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg on questions envisaged by legislation in force.

Article 25. Procedure for holding sittings of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

Sittings of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers are held at least once every three months. A sitting of the Russian Federation Government is deemed to have a quorum if it is attended by at least two-thirds of members of the Russian Federation Government.

Sittings of the Russian Federation Government take place under the leadership of the chairman of the Russian Federation Government. In his absence the sittings are conducted by the first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government. The Russian Federation president is entitled to chair sittings of the Russian Federation Government.

The Russian Federation vice president and plenipotentiary representative of the Russian Federation president can take part in sittings of the Russian Federation Government.

Decisions are adopted at sittings of the Russian Federation Government by a majority of votes of the members of the Russian Federation Government. The heads of administrations of the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and cities under republic subordination can take part in the examination of questions by the Russian Federation Government with the right to a consultative voice [soveshchatelnyy golos].

The procedure for holding sittings of the Russian Federation Government is determined by the Russian Federation Government and the standing orders approved by it.

Article 26. Chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

The chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers heads the Russian Federation Government.

The chairman of the Russian Federation Government:

submits to the Russian Federation president proposals on the membership of the Russian Federation Government;

organizes the work of the Russian Federation Government and leads its sittings;

assigns duties to first deputy chairmen and deputy chairmen of the Russian Federation Government and represents the Russian Federation Government in international relations;

in urgent cases issues directives on behalf of the Russian Federation Government on particular matters of state administration and informs the Russian Federation Government accordingly.

In the event of the absence of the chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, his duties are performed by his first deputy.

Article 27. Deputy chairmen of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

The first deputy chairmen and deputy chairmen of the Russian Federation Government coordinate, in accordance with the assignment of their duties, the work of the Russian Federation ministries and state committees and other organs of state administration subordinate to the Russian Federation Government, monitor their activities and give them assignments, and examine in advance proposals and draft decrees and directives submitted to the Russian Federation Government.

Article 28. Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium, comprising the chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, his first deputies and deputies, the minister of finance, the minister of economy, the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of defense, the minister of security, the minister of internal affairs, the chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property, and the head of the Russian Federation Government apparatus, acts as the permanent organ of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers. At the request of the chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, the Russian Federation president can bring other members of the Russian Federation Government into the Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium.

The Russian Federation Government Presidium makes decisions by a majority of the total number of members, the decisions are issued in the form of decrees or directives and must not contradict decisions made at sessions of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers is empowered to repeal any decisions by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium.

Article 29. Standing and interim commissions and other working organs of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers forms standing commissions and determines their tasks, functions, and the manner in which they operate.

Standing and interim commissions and other working organs of the Russian Federation Government can be set up to prepare proposals on particular questions of state administration, elaborate draft Council of Ministers decisions and examine disagreements over the drafts, and carry out particular Russian Federation Council of Ministers asssignments.

Article 30. Decrees and directives of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

On the basis of and in implementation of the Russian Federation Constitution and laws, other decisions of the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies and Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and edicts of the Russian Federation president, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers adopts decrees and issues directives and verifies their implementation. Decrees and directives of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers are binding throughout the territory of the Russian Federation.

Decisions of a normative character or of the greatest importance are issued in the form of Russian Federation Council of Ministers decrees. Decisions on ongoing and other current matters are issued in the form of Russian Federation Council of Ministers directives.

Russian Federation Council of Ministers decrees are signed by the chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers or by his first deputy on his behalf, and directives by the chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers or his first deputy.

Russian Federation Council of Ministers decrees and directives come into effect the day they are signed, unless otherwise indicated in these acts. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers monitors the implementation of the decisions it has made directly or through its subordinate organs of state administration.

Russian Federation Council of Ministers decrees and directives can be repealed by the Russian Federation president if they contradict the Constitution or laws of the Russian Federation.

Russian Federation Council of Ministers decrees are published in the Collected Acts of the President and Government of the Russian Federation and, except for decrees

containing state secrets, are made generally known through the media if they need to be extensively promulgated immediately.

Article 31. Support for the activities of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers

Expenditure on the upkeep of the Russian Federation Government is ratified by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

The chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, his first deputies and deputies, and other members of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers are paid for their work and the amount of pay is fixed by the Russian Federation president. The Russian Federation Government chairman's salary is determined by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

Social, everyday, and other services for members of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, essential to the performance of their official duties, are provided on the basis of Russian Federation legislation within the bounds of approved federal budget expenditure on the upkeep of the Russian Federation Government.

Article 32. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers apparatus and its structure

A Russian Federation Council of Ministers apparatus operates to support the activities of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers apparatus has a head who is appointed to and dismissed from that post by the Russian Federation president at the request of the chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

The rights, duties, and responsibilities of staff of the Russian Federation Government apparatus are determined in accordance with the statute on the Russian Federation Government apparatus, approved by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

The structure, staffing, pay, and material and everyday conditions for staff of the Russian Federation Government apparatus and the expenditure on its upkeep are determined by the chairman of the Russian Federation Government within the bounds of federal budget expenditure on the upkeep of the Russian Federation Government as approved by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

The heads of the main departments of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers apparatus are appointed or dismissed by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers at the request of the head of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers apparatus.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] Russia's House of Soviets, Moscow, 22 December 1992

Serial No. 4174-1

Decree on Adoption of Law on Council of Ministers

PM0401152593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 93 First Edition p 6

[Decree of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "On a Repeat Examination of the Russian Federation Law 'On the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation'," dated 22 December 1992 and signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Having examined the Russian Federation Law "On the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation," which was returned by the Russian Federation president, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet **decrees**:

in accordance with part two of Article 117 of the Russian Federation Constitution, readopted the Russian Federation Law "On the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation" with the amendments made in it on the basis of the Russian Federation Law "On Amendments and Addenda to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Federation—Russia."

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

House of the Soviets of Russia

22 December 1992

No. 4173-1

Decree on Enactment of Council of Ministers Law

PM0401152393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 93 First Edition p 6

[Decree of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "On the Procedure for Enacting the Russian Federation Law 'On the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation'," dated 22 December and signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet **decrees**:

1. To enact the Russian Federation Law "On the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation," with the exception of part four of Article 1, from the moment of the enactment of the Russian Federation Law "On Amendments and Addenda to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Federation—Russia."

2. To carry out the formation of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation in accordance with the Russian Federation Constitution and the Russian Federation Law "On the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation."

3. In accordance with the decree of the Seventh Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies "On the Stabilization of the Constitutional Structure of the Russian Federation," to enact part four of Article 1 of the Russian

Federation Law "On the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation" as of 12 April 1993.

4. To deem the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR Council of Ministers," dated 3 August 1979, (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOVO SOVETA RSFSR, 1979, No. 32, page 783), invalid from the moment of the enactment of the Russian Federation Law "On the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation."

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

House of the Soviets of Russia

22 December 1992

No. 4175-1

Chernomyrdin To Issue Predecessor's Economic Program

LD0401133893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] The Russian prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, has said he would be materializing the economic program that was worked out by the Russian Government in the past year. The head of the cabinet said he would shortly submit his considerations about ways of carrying out the reforms, notably in the sphere of the social protection of the population.

Bunich Interviewed on Government's Economic Strategy

OW0501114493 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 30 Dec 92

[Studio interview with Pavel Grigoryevich Bunich, member of the presidential consultative council, by Aleksandr Panov and Tatyana Vedeneyeva; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Vedeneyeva] Our studio guest is Pavel Grigoryevich Bunich...

[Panov, interrupting] ...Our well-known economist and member of the presidential consultative council. Pavel Grigoryevich has appeared several times this year on the "Utro" program, and has always staggered us with his accurate forecasts on what more will happen in our economy.

Pavel Grigoryevich, in the coming new year we are setting out with the new government of Viktor Chernomyrdin, and although it has been said that the direction of reforms is acceptable and the majority of the members of the Gaydar team have been retained, nonetheless, we do have a new prime minister. What can we expect from this government in the coming year? What is generally your prognosis of the situation in our economy?

[Bunich] First, what you just lumped together, as a rule, is rather a sad juxtaposition. However, today being the day that it is, may we be less bitter?

[Vedeneyeva] Yes.

[Bunich] This government has three peculiarities. The first, is a positive one for them, in that all the dirty work, the main dirty work, the mindless growth of prices, the lowering of living standards, the drop in production was already done for him [Chernomyrdin] by others. However, on the other hand there are complications and that is, this government has no right to make a mistake. We have all been brought to such a point that should it continue, we will not be able to endure. Further, this government has another minus with which we can sympathize and that is, it has strong opposition. It has never been so strong in the past, but now it is united, united by its victory at the congress.

[Vedeneyeva] Perhaps this is a plus instead of a minus! When there is a strong opposition it will spur the government and force it to work better?

[Bunich] It is very strong. Work aside, it may flog and not spur. This is also a serious threat. God forbid that it comes about. This government is market oriented in general. That means from what Gaydar was doing—he did not do everything well, though I think about 70 percent was good—70 percent will be continued by the new government. Now, the issue under discussion is the remainder, which is not so insignificant. This is the part where better, or worse can be done. So far the government has done X amount, but there were a couple of announcements: Let there be no further reduction in productivity, and do not allow the people to become poorer. In themselves, both announcements were good, very good, and we should not scold the government, because we have been striving for nearly a year to finally hear such words from them.

[Panov] However, after such words many surmised a looming hyperinflation.

[Bunich] Yes, yes, that is what I wanted to say, that the recession has already begun to diminish. If it had not begun to diminish it would have reached 23 percent for the year, and you can imagine what that is. However, according to the annual summing up, it now seems that the drop will only be about 10 percent for the year. Add to that the 13 percent drop last year, which makes it some 23 percent in all; God grant that this will be so. So, there is your question: What will be the outcome of this reduction in the recession? The outcome will be as follows: All the enterprises that had no means were given loans. Today, you take the loan, pay yourself wages, buy the raw materials, and in turn the other enterprise pays wages, so, in general, all the loans become wages. We are well off only for the first five minutes, but after that we find out that all the prices have increased. And the prices have increased by 30 percent each month for the past quarter, which is unthinkable, unheard of, and terrible. If they continue to fight recession in this way, they will have chosen the very worst way to do it. I would like to caution the government

against this primitive method they have chosen for combating recession. Credit should be given only to those who work well, to those who instead of the donut hole bring back the donut. That is, in one way we will pay the wages, but on the other hand they will bring the goods, and in this way we will survive. Second, do not give credit to those who only waste it.

[Panov] But on the other hand, you spoke about strong opposition, certainly then there will be pressure on the producers?

[Bunich] Yes, yes, I will talk about that in a minute, literally, in half a minute. So, if loans are given to everyone it will cause the inefficient enterprises, which at present are slowly realizing that they must extricate themselves, to stop trying. You would not be able to trick them into working a second time. They will think there is no need to work, everything will be given to them, everything will be covered, and so on. There will be no new variety, no new technology, just continuous pay, that is all. That is how it will be divided. But what will be divided is exactly the question you asked.

Some enterprises will have to go bankrupt, and we should not provide loans to an obvious bankrupt because he consumes more than he produces. There is opposition to this by the majority, not all but a majority, in the VPK [Military Industrial Complex] and the major agricultural community; again not all but a majority, do not want to live according to the new ways and want to retain the old ones. They want to receive more than they give, so they oppose, and all of this opposition plus the political opposition, could join forces. Additionally, I would like to sound one more warning that would not be amiss here—God forbid it in any event—and that is a fear of counter-indicative measures. And one more thing, the people also exert pressure. For instance, they and various civil unions are calling for a price freeze. Great caution and care must be exercised here. Let us just imagine prices have been frozen, this means goods are simply lower in price, which means they will be bought up by speculators, which means production will be unprofitable and subsidies will have to be given. All this means the budget, which without this is already strained, will be even more strained. The movement of resources here is very limited.

[Panov] Pavel Grigoryevich, let us hope representatives of the government have watched us today, and that they will heed your warnings. Unfortunately we still have so many guests on the program, and literally, as the last thing, we would like to thank you for taking part in our New Year's program and simply wish you happy New Year! What could you say to our viewers?

[Bunich] I can say that nevertheless, there is hope that inflation can be reduced threefold. This will still be too high but it will not be as bad as at present, therefore, there must be a spray, perhaps not of champagne, but of optimism.

[Vedeneyeva] Yes, today in fact we are drinking champagne, the best in the world, Dom Perignon in fact, and it was supplied to us by the (Kvant) company, one of the best and largest in the country, which is working well—you have mentioned before that there are companies that work well. Happy New Year to you.

[Bunich] Thank you.

[Vedeneyeva] Also another company, the Kislovodsk Porcelain Plant, has provided these presents—this is handmade—for all Utro program guests. Happy New Year! [Vedeneyeva hands Bunich a porcelain bowl]

[Bunich] Thank you, I will try and earn it with a positive forecast. I wish you a good morning from the whole country. Happy New Year!

Results of Privatization in 1992 Noted

LD0201104793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1033 GMT 2 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Ryabov]

[Text] Moscow January 2 TASS—The Russian state reaped 85 billion roubles from all types of enterprise privatisation last year, which is 15 billion roubles up on the year-end figure projected by specialists. Ninety five thousand applications for privatising enterprises in various sectors of industry were filed. More than 120 million Russians have already received their privatisation vouchers and hence are ready to participate in privatising state property.

All these figures, which were supplied to ITAR-TASS in the Russian State Property Management Committee, enable committee experts to contend that all preconditions were formed in the last six months for the new year to witness large-scale privatisation.

Switching 4,734 enterprises to joint-stock ownership should be completed over the next 12 months. The staff of upwards of 2,000 production units endorsed programmes for transferring their plants to joint-stock companies by today.

Some 600 enterprises already gained the status of joint-stock companies. This pace of privatisation is quite satisfatory: At point is taking out of state hands the country's largest industrial giants, therefore the analysis and check of all documents and facts takes time. The State Property Management Committee will consider applications from another 1,075 plants which want to be turned into joint-stock companies shortly.

The so-called small privatisation covering trade, the public catering and service sector is gaining momentum day after day. Over 40,000 facilities in trade alone were turned from state control into private ownership with 649 out of them being transformed into joint-stock companies.

Experts point out that if in summer the most popular method of small privatisation was lease with the subsequent redemption—over 7,000 facilities were privatised

this way—in autumn and winter the focus in the privatisation scheme switched to auctions. Over 10,000 enterprises in the sphere of trade, public catering and the service sector were taken out of state hands with their aid. Some 5,000 facilities were sold off at auctions.

Specialists maintain that the gap in the starting and selling price of privatised enterprises amounted to 60 billion roubles as a whole in Russia in 1992, correspondingly prices leaped from nine to 69 billion roubles.

Nizhnyy Novgorod is the record holder among Russian cities in the number of auctions held—626. Stavropol territory is second—249 and St. Petersburg is third—236.

Yeltsin Signs Law on Land Ownership

LD3112233492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0755 GMT 31 Dec 92

[By ITAR-TASS observer Aleksey Filatov]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Dec—A new impetus has been imparted to land reform. On New Year's eve the Russian president signed a law on the right of citizens to receive in private ownership and to sell plots of land as personal subsidiary plots as well as plots for dachas, horticulture, and individual housing construction. In the view of specialists, this law will become a powerful boost to the efficient management of land and to an even greater contribution by the private sector to solving the food problem.

Considerable work has been carried out in the sphere of land relations over the last two years. Citizens of Russia have also received more than 10 million hectares of land as personal subsidiary plots and peasant farms and as plots for growing fruit and vegetables and constructing private homes and dachas. Over this period almost 20 million families have received plots of land, including more than 16 million families residing in towns. The allocation of land continues. A special land fund with an area of more than 15 million hectares has been set up for this purpose.

There are 173,000 peasant farms, 2,300 small agricultural cooperatives, and almost 19,000 livestock-breeding cooperatives in the country at present. Not all applicants, however, have been able to become landowners. People are worried about a situation in which state programs for constructing houses and social amenities in the countryside, building roads, and providing gas, electricity, water, and telephone services have been practically curtailed. The policy of prices, credits, taxation, and investment that is being implemented considerably hampers the development of private farming. There already have been more than 5,000 cases of farmers giving up their plots of land. Also, the processing of applications for land is quite often accompanied by red tape and blatant violations of land legislation.

New Income Tax System Introduced

LD0401221393 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Video report by correspondent O. Bobin, including recorded interview with M.V. Shpilko, head of Department for Tax Reforms of Russian Ministry of Finance—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Bobin] It may seem to many of you that you have already said goodbye to the old year, but this is only an illusion since some accounts have yet to be settled. According to the new legislature, collection of the most widespread income tax for the past year will take place in the first quarter of 1993.

[Shpilko] Taxation in the country was previously carried out on a monthly basis, but as of 1 January the total annual income received by an actual person from any sources is to be taxed.

[Bobin] The accounts office automatically deducted 12 percent every month, but if the annual sum exceeds 200,000 rubles, you should fill in a form like this one and the financial bodies will transfer you to another category. Your tax will be at least 20 percent or even higher. In other words, you have to pay the difference for the whole year. But if your income is under 200,000, there is no reason to worry. This law was adopted at the start of inflation. Today a wage of 17,000 is not a rarity.

[Shpilko] Miners and oil and gas workers have this much ...

[Bobin, interrupting] Are they to be taxed at a rate of 20 percent for 1992?

[Shpilko] It has been agreed that the Supreme Soviet will resume the examination of this issue at the beginning of the year.

[Bobin] So, the transfer to a new taxation system like the one used in civilized countries has taken place. [passage omitted: this step will be a test for financial bodies]

Government Makes Decision on Internal, Border Troops

PM0501105993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jan 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report by Ivan Ivanov: "Russia's Internal and Border Troops Will Switch to Joint Recruiting Method"]

[Text] This decision was made at a session of the Russian Federation Government collegium held before the New Year under the chairmanship of Viktor Chernomyrdin. According to Aleksey Golovkov, leader of the government apparatus, Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin and Security Minister Viktor Barannikov made suggestions for the formation of a number of internal and border troops subunits using draftees and servicemen under contract. A relatively small number of subunits will thus be formed, mainly brought into operation in "trouble spots."

13,224 Russian Blue Helmets Serving in Hot Spots

LD0501110593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0940 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—A total of 13,224 servicemen of the Russian Federation Army—blue helmets—are taking part in peace-making actions in hot spots, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI reports today. The infantry battalion sent to Yugoslavia for peace-making purposes initiated the formation of such subunits in April last year. "Practice has shown that the role of such troop subunits is important both for Russia itself and for the CIS," the newspaper comments.

Since June 1992 more than 600 servicemen from the Russian Federation's 27th Motorized Rifle Division have been taking part in a peace-making action on the terrritory of South Ossetia. Their actions to separate the warring sides have stabilized the situation in this region, and life is returning to normal, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI declares. Over 1,500 servicemen have voluntarily joined the peace-making forces group which was set up in July last year on the basis of a Russian-Moldovan bilateral agreement on the principles of peaceful settlement of the armed conflict in the Dniester region (the eastern part of Moldova). "As a result of the measures taken, the blood of peaceful citizens is no longer being shed," the newspaper goes on. "A major negotiating process is under way to settle the conflict by peaeful means".

About another 1,000 servicemen of the Russian Federation Army have been allocated to separate the armed formations in the zone of confrontation between Abkhazia and Georgia. Another 5,500 Russian Federation servicemen are in the peace-making forces created to observe the emergency regime in North Ossetia and Ingushetia (north Caucasus), ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI reports.

Grachev Said To Curb Business Flights by Military Aircraft

MK0401144193 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 4 Jan 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under "Stop Press" rubric: "Defense Minister Will Take Personal Command of Freight Transport Movements"]

[Text] Transport workers have sharply reduced the number of commercial flights following the recent major airplane crashes.

The Russian defense minister has issued an order under which military aircraft will now make business flights only with Pavel Grachev's personal permission. If he is not available, permission for a flight may be given only by a deputy minister. Nobody else. The Air Forces commander in chief is responsible for the safety of commercial flights. At the end of the day the airplane crash near Tver occurred because the An-22 was overloaded. It was even unable to reach its prescribed altitude.

Law Permitting Freedom of Travel Takes Effect

LD0101185193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1655 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow 1 January TASS—As of today, the law permitting Russian citizens to leave the country and return to it at their convenience is in effect in this country. Every Russian citizen can now apply to the Visa and Registration Office in his or her neighborhood to get a foreign travel passport within a month of the date of application upon paying a due of 5,000 to 10,000 roubles. The foreign travel passport is valid for a period of five years. During this period, the passport holder can turn to diplomatic and consular missions of other countries in the Russian Federation for an entry visa, regardless of whether he or she intends to travel as a tourist, on business or as a private individual. Citizens who hold foreign travel passports of the Russian Federation issued after January 1, 1993 do not need to have the permissive inscription "for departure until..." inscribed in their passports in order to leave the country.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov Meets With Jordanian Officials

LD0201215693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2103 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] Cairo January 2 TASS—By ITAR-TASS:

An official delegation from the Russian Supreme Soviet headed by Ruslan Khasbulatov has begun a Middle Eastern tour.

A program of Jordan visit includes meetings and conversations with Jordan parliament members, the prime minister, the foreign minister and members of the royal family.

When meeting head of the Jordan parliament House of Deputies 'Arabiyat and the acting Senate chairman, the Russian parliament speaker stressed the importance of development of parliament relations to boost bilateral relations in various spheres—political, economic and humanitarian.

The Russian Supreme Soviet chairman noted the representative character of the Russian delegation, which includes five chairmen of Supreme Soviet committees and heads of Bashkortostan and Tatarstan parliaments, stresses the significance Russia attaches to its relations with Jordan.

In their turn, Jordan parliament members noted to the close attention with which the Middle East follows the uneasy progress of Russian reforms. Conversations showed the Jordan desire to see a more active Russian role on the international scene, including in the process of peaceful settlement of the Middle Eastern conflict.

Both states' parliamentarians expressed concern over the fate of over 400 Palestinians recently deported by the Israeli authorities and called for unconditional fulfillment of U.N. resolutions aiming at the soonest solution of the Middle Eastern problem.

Ends Visit

LD0301165693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1616 GMT 3 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Cairo January 3 TASS—Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov concluded his two-day visit to Jordan during which he focused on the Russian role in the Middle East settlement during talks with Crown Prince Hassan, Prime Minister Al-Sharif Zayd Bin-Shakir and Foreign Minister Kamil Abu-Jabir.

Hassan noted that the initial stage of the Middle East peace talks is being delayed and they do not practically touch upon such issues as human rights and refugees fate.

Bilateral relations and interparliamentary ties were also discussed during negotiations.

Jewish emigration from Russia was in the focus of attention as well. Khasbulatov said that Russia which had embarked on the road of democratic development and respect of human rights will not impede a free exit and entry of its citizens from the country.

Several members of the Russian parliamentary delegation led by Khasbulatov, who is an ethnic Chechen, met with representatives of North Caucasian diaspora in Amman.

Decree on Policy on Former Yugoslavia Published

PM0401151593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 93 First Edition p 7

["Decree of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet 'On the Russian Federation's Approach to the Yugoslav Conflict,'" dated 17 December 1992 and signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet]

[Text] The sweeping sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro introduced by the United Nations in spring of 1992 have not resulted in ending the bloodshed. The attempt to seek culprits only on one side is merely promoting an escalation of violence. The constant toughening of the blockade is leading to the weakening of the positions of forces that are prepared to hold constructive dialogue. The beginning of winter and the shortage of fuel, food, and medicines are raising the acute question of humanitarian aid to the population of the entire conflict zone.

The possibility of armed intervention from outside has recently become a reality; this would undoubtedly lead to the further escalation of the conflict and intensify the civilian population's suffering.

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet believes that urgent steps are necessary to support and consolidate all constructive forces in the new Yugoslavia and help end the bloodshed in Bosnia and Hercegovina by means of talks between the representatives of all three peoples living in this republic.

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. The Russian Federation Government is to instruct the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry:

to adopt the necessary measures to prevent military intervention and the further escalation of the conflict on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. With this aim, to continue working with the UN Security Council permanent members, not ruling out the application of the right of veto in the event of extreme necessity;

to put to the UN Security Council the question of applying equal sanctions with respect to all three sides responsible for continuing the conflict and the bloodshed, and to prevent the lifting of the embargo on military supplies.

2. To instruct the Russian Federation Government to resolve the question of resuming humanitarian supplies to Yugoslavia within two weeks.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet
Moscow, House of the Soviets of Russia
17 December 1992
No. 4125-1

Regional Affairs

Chechen Aide Discusses Draft Treaty With Russia

PM0401160393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Aleksandr Aleshkin report: "Russia's Treaty With Chechnya. Still in Draft Form"]

[Text] Yaragi Mamodayev, first deputy chairman of the Chechen Republic Cabinet of Ministers, gave a news conference in Moscow on New Year's Eve. It was preceded by three weeks of talks between a Groznyy delegation and the Russian Federation leadership at the level of deputy chairmen of parliament and deputy prime ministers.

They resulted in a draft treaty between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic on the mutual delegation of objects of jurisdiction and powers of the organs of state power. Yaragi Mamodayev familiarized the correspondents of central newspapers with the main provisions of the draft and with his forecast of the development of relations between Russia and Chechnya.

Article 1 of the draft treaty reads: "The Chechen Republic—a sovereign, rule-of-law, democratic state created by the will of the Chechen people—builds its relations with Russia as an autonomous state."

The document envisages the most important political, economic, and humanitarian aspects of interstate relations. These include the ensuring of human rights and freedoms; joint defense of territorial integrity; common energy and transport systems; cooperation of power structures; a common policy in the social sphere, etc.

Without belittling the significance of the whole package of problems, it has to be said that their more or less successful

resolution is possible only if there is clarity on the treaty's first point. Namely, is the Russian leadership ready to recognize the Chechen Republic's independence today?

Answering this question, Mamodayev said that in recent months there has been a significant movement toward mutual understanding in relations between Moscow and Groznyy. This is borne out by the very atmosphere in which the draft was discussed: amicable and constructive.

The deputy chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers pointed out at the same time that both sides were guided by the appeal of the Seventh Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies to the people and the organs of power and management of the Chechen Republic. It emphasizes, in particular, that, given goodwill and due regard for the legitimate interests and the just aspirations of the peoples of Chechnya and the whole Russian Federation, it is possible to find the solution to all the problems that complicate our relations.

Recognition or nonrecognition of the Chechen Republic's sovereignty today rests on the legality or illegality of its present authorities. In the opinion of Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government, the expression of the will of the Chechen people serves as the legal basis for creating the Chechen Republic. Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian parliament, also considers the formation of the Chechen Republic a "fait accompli." The legitimacy of its present authorities is another matter. But this too is within the competence of the Chechen people themselves.

Chechnya Seen as 'Guarantor of Stability' in Caucasus

PM0401160993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 93 p 2

[Viktor Shirokov report: "Russians and Chechens Are Brothers Forever"]

[Text] Yesterday, at a news conference given by Yaragi Mamodayev, first vice premier of the Chechen Republic, summing up his working visit to Moscow, remarkable words were uttered: "We see ourselves together with Russia, in union with Russia."

An agreement has been drafted on the mutual delegation of subjects of jurisdiction and powers of the organs of state power. The vice premier noted with approval that the information blockade around Chechnya had been broken, and that the mass media—irrespective of their political orientation—had done much to enable our relations to finally take on a normal, civilized aspect. Chechnya, which is outside the zone of Russia's geopolitical interests, could be a guarantor of stability, having a high and merited prestige in the Caucasus.

Tatarstan Premier Says Chernomyrdin 'More Difficult' in Talks

LD0401170293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] It will be much more difficult to negotiate with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin of Russia, than with Yegor Gaydar, because the first knows well the real situation in the localities. And one should be very well prepared when raising any problem before him, Mukhammat Sabirov, the prime minister of Tatarstan, stated in an interview with a RIA correspondent. He believes that Chernomyrdin will not allow any deviation from the reforms course. If we feel support, we will, accordingly, change our attitude toward the federal government, Sabirov underlined.

Bulgaria, Tatarstan Cooperation Agreement

934C0610A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Dec 92 p 2

[Article by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent Dmitriy Mikhaylin under the rubric "Facts, Assessments, and Commentary": "The Federation: Will Tatarstan Want To Become a 'Little Japan'?"]

[Text] Kazan—At the end of last week an official delegation of the Republic of Bulgaria, headed by Bulgarian parliament Deputy Todor Mukhtanov, was in Tatarstan. He and Tatarstan Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev signed a protocol on cooperation.

Among the high-priority spheres of cooperation discussed by these fraternal peoples (the Volga Bulgars—ancestors of the Tatars—share common roots with Bulgarians) are the development of interstate contacts, information, economics, industry (conversion of the military-industrial complex in particular), science, and a great deal more.

The republics plan to exchange trade and economic representations in the near future.

After becoming familiarized with the Tatarstan economy, Todor Mukhtanov stated he had come to the conclusion that the republic has the potential to enable it to become a "little Japan" in the not too distant future.

From all appearances it is not just the Bulgarians who hold such a view—a recent trip "for information purposes" of the Tatarstan Republic vice president to Canada resulted in his bringing back a contract on the establishment of an international consortium for the production of cottages using Canadian technology. And German bankers have shown interest in prospects for investments in Tatarstan's economy. Additionally, an official presentation of the Tatarstan Republic is planned to be conducted in Germany in three or four months.

International Affairs

Foreign Minister Interviewed on START, U.S. Ties

LD0201202293

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian at 2000 GMT on 1 January broadcasts a 22-minute recorded program, including an interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko by Ukrainian Radio correspondent Tamara Kucherenko, as well as comments from the correspondent. The date and place of the interview are not given.

The reporter opens with an interview with a fortune teller, who predicts good things for Ukraine in the coming year. The correspondent then announces that she has talked to Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko to see if he agrees with this assessment. Zlenko begins by confirming that a foreign policy concept for Ukraine does exist. It determines Ukraine's foreign policy and its attitude toward individual countries and regions. He adds: "I expect that I will have the opportunity to deliver a report to the Supreme Council about this same foreign policy of Ukraine in the very near future."

Answering a question on the attitude of Western states toward Ukraine, Anatoliy Zlenko says that he believes the process of recognizing Ukraine has proceded normally and in a satisfactory way, but: "I think that there are certain problems, which are not being resolved, for example in the same way as for Russia, following the proclamation of our independence. This is a fact, and one cannot but take account of it. There are other problems as well, which I would like to name today. For example, the Western countries were pushed toward a very rapid recognition of Ukraine, it seems to me, by Ukraine determining its foreign policy direction in the declaration on state sovereignty, and then in later relevant documents. These are in particular three priorities, like the non-nuclear status of Ukraine; second, its being outside any blocs; and neutrality. It seems to me that it was this that most attracted Western countries when they determined their positions and attitudes toward our independent state."

Asked about the most important tasks of Ukraine's diplomacy, Anatoliy Zlenko answers: "We should do everything to ensure the peaceful development of our state. This is the main task. And in order to ensure this very development, or say development in this direction, it is necessary for us to think about guarantees for our national security. Therefore, we should concentrate all political and diplomatic means on resolving this complex problem."

Zlenko says that the second task concerns the economy, and involves attracting foreign investments and credits. He goes on: "I see the third task as [word indistinct] the credit of international confidence, which was given during the course of this year, following the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, and to implement those plans, which were defined in the relevant decisions of the Supreme Council. It is about ratifying the strategic offensive arms treaty in the very near future, and joining the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Naturally, there are also other issues of (?less) importance, but naturally I have put these very problems in one of the first places."

Asked about Ukraine's intention to be a non-nuclear state, and about the START treaty, Anatoliy Zlenko answers: "We are not hurrying at all. And (?this is) steady work, which as I understand it is bringing us closer to ratification of START. We should resolve three problems. The first problem is guarantees for our national security. This problem, if we were speaking about this problem carefully only about half a year ago, and we were warned, do not even think about it, this is impossible—we now have certain progress, and I think that we will solve this problem in the very near future. We need to receive guarantees from the leading nuclear states, and these guarantees are especially needed, even when taking into account the recent jokes of certain politicians [reference to Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's speech in Stockholm].

"The second issue we should resolve today is the economic one, economic problems of ensuring the dismantling and destruction of nuclear weapons. There is advance information about the United States of America allocating $175 million to Ukraine following ratification. We are being convinced that this is only a starting sum which is allocated for these aims. I think that naturally these funds will increase later, but after ratification. This is the second problem. And the third problem is compensation for nuclear fuel, which is located in warheads, which are to be handed over to, for example, our neighboring state of Russia. Incidentally, this has not been agreed, whether it will be handed over or not, but we should now come to an agreement in principle on compensation for nuclear fuel. Talks are to begin in the very near future. There is an advance agreement with the Russian side and consent for the beginning of these talks. Incidentally, we have already determined our delegation. I think that these talks should begin in the very near future, and that we will also resolve these issues. And so, if we resolve this block of issues—naturally there are problems of lesser importance, which also need to be solved—if we solve these problems, then naturally we will bring the day of ratifying START closer.

"Now, as far as START II is concerned, you said, I think, that the Administration of the United States wants to do everything possible before leaving the White House and to show the world that it is proceeding from global approaches toward the resolution of the most acute issue of today—the existence of nuclear weapons. I do not exclude the possibility of this agreement being signed; if one analyzes the steps of Russian diplomacy in this direction and the steps of Russian politicians as well, I can also see that steady work is being carried out in order that the relevant treaty is concluded as soon as possible, a treaty which would have the name of START II."

Asked if Ukraine's relations with the United States would change in connection with the change of President of the United States, Zlenko replies: "We are following attentively both how the Cabinet of the new administration of

the United States of America is currently being formed and who is being appointed to specific posts in this Cabinet. There is a lot of information about from what concept the new administration is forming its foreign political directions. But we are endeavoring to analyze everything, and we can now more or less say that the necessary succession of rights in politics, or rather the succession in the politics of the current and future administrations of the United States of America will be ensured. We expect that the work that was achieved during the course of 1992 will naturally serve as the basis for the further development of Ukrainian-American relations."

The correspondent asks the minister whether changes in the internal life of Russia would affect Ukraine's external political relations with other CIS states. She lists the Russian factors as: the postponement of the Minsk meeting of CIS heads of state, the postponement of the meeting of the Ukrainian and Russian presidents, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's statement in Stockholm, and the adoption by the Russian Congress of People's Deputies of a protocol decision on the status of Sevastopol. The minister replies: "These issues do affect Ukraine's relations with other states, in particular, as you said, with the CIS. I would like to say that naturally it is not Ukraine's fault that those meetings, which were determined earlier, were postponed. We were ready just then to take part in the first and the second meetings. But we understand that there have been events that probably had some effect on that which was determined earlier. And naturally we took this calmly, although naturally we understand that there are urgent problems that need to be resolved just now. These are deliveries, these are mutual payments, these are exchanges of goods, etc. Therefore, I think that naturally this has not satisfied us sufficiently. However, we have taken this as it has arisen. We are not thinking of changing our policies regarding the CIS countries. Our policies consist of developing bilateral relations on equal terms with all countries of the former USSR, but now with the independent states of the CIS." Zlenko adds that Ukraine's attitude toward the CIS is that "this is not a super-state establishment. This is a certain coordinating body, called on to serve the CIS countries for the appropriate period of time, connected with the calm, peaceful disintegration of the USSR. That is, today we look on this body as a body of an international nature, a body on an (?ad hoc) level, which from time to time assembles for its sessions and resolves certain problems. And in addition, the main thing is that, during the course of these sessions, problems of bilateral relations between various countries are solved. It is such meetings that allow the possibility of exchanging opinions, starting the process of establishment and development of bilateral relations, and determining, for example, the prospect of implementing certain accords, in the main, and bilateral [word indistinct]."

Asked whether any problems had arisen between Ukraine and Russia regarding the implementation of the Yalta and Dagomys agreements on the division of the Black Sea Fleet and foreign property and assets, the minister replies: "These problems are being resolved with quite a lot of difficulty. The problem of foreign property is being resolved with difficulty. Well, the problem of dividing the Black Sea Fleet is not being resolved as one would wish. But we proceed from the Dagomys and Yalta agreements having in fact laid the appropriate foundation for the creation of an atmosphere of mutual understanding, and for agreement on all other issues which arise in Ukrainian-Russian relations. I think that it is thanks to these same two agreements that we have managed to (?bring) our relations out of confrontation toward mutual understanding; and the very position of these relevant agreements are on the basis of those talks, be it on the division of property or on the division of the Black Sea Fleet. "I think that we do not need to exaggerate either the Yalta or the Dagomys agreements. These are naturally temporary agreements, but all the same they give us the possibility of being guided by them, and of relying on them when solving specific problems. I would like to say this, that truly, when we say that the issue of division of property is unresolved between us and Russia at the moment, then there is also a whole series [words indistinct], including the division of the Black Sea Fleet, I would like to say that we need to look at things in general, that we have an insufficient legal regularization of many problems of Ukrainian-Russian relations. And naturally, all these secondary problems will also depend on their regularization, be it the division of foreign property or the division of the Black Sea Fleet, or be it other issues which will arise in our relations. But I would like to say unambiguously that we give much significance to normal, mutually advantageous relations on equal terms with Russia. This is our neighbor. This is, one could say, a strategic partner. And, for example, taking into account political, economic, historic, cultural and other factors, we will consider that these relations at a certain stage will be the dominant idea in Ukraine's relations with Russia."

Anatoliy Zlenko, in his reply to the correspondent's next question, says that he feels it is a good thing that Ukraine has joined the Vienna Convention on Succession of States, and that "we will do everything to use of the clauses of this convention in the negotiation process."

Answering a question on the work of Ukrainian diplomatic representations abroad, Zlenko agrees that there are many organizational and financial difficulties, but adds that on the whole he is satisified with what has been done in a short space of time. He expresses his gratitude for the financial help received for Ukrainian representations abroad, thanking the Ukrainians in the United States of America and Canada for their contributions. He adds that "with the coming of a new prime minister we, as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, have felt that there is understanding of the fact that foreign policy is a special type of state policy, and that foreign policy should be given appropriate significance."

START-II Given 'Guarded' Reception

LD0501021093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Commentary by Vitaliy Buzuyev]

[Excerpt] The treaty signed by Bush and Yeltsin has been given a rather guarded, not to say cool, reception in Ukraine. Konstantin Hryshchenko, a Ukrainian Foreign Ministry spokesman, even thinks that some provisions of the treaty on strategic offensive weapons do not reflect Ukraine's present interests. First, Ukraine would like to receive security guarantees for itself, and second, it now describes as its property those components of nuclear materials that are to be obtained after the elimination of nuclear warheads. [passage omitted]

Kravchuk, Conference Delegates Discuss CIS Charter

OW0401192793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has said that before the C.I.S. Charter can be signed, Ukraine must conclude large-scale economic agreements and inter-state treaties with Russia and other C.I.S. member-states. He was speaking at a consultative meeting of delegates from political parties, socio-political associations, trade unions, cultural workers, women's and youth organizations in Kiev on Monday [4 January]. The consultative meeting discussed whether Ukraine should put its signature to the Charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States at the forthcoming C.I.S. summit.

Kravchuk argues that the emphasis must be placed on wider bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation within the C.I.S. The Ukrainian President says that any integration process must stem from the idea of resolving economic problems first and political problems second.

Participants in the conference have said most delegates believe the Charter in its present form should not be signed. They argued that if signed after all, the Charter would upset the principle of free membership of the C.I.S. and run counter to the agreements concluded in Belarus and Alma-Ata.

Most speakers on behalf of their organizations asked the President, the Cabinet and Parliament to consistently protect Ukraine's sovereignty in keeping with the Ukrainian Independence Declaration Act of August 24 1991 and the will of the people expressed in the referendum of December 1991.

The consultative meeting was attended by the Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and first deputy Speaker of the Ukrainian Parliament Vasiliy Durdinets.

Government Declines To Sign

OW0501124893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1210 GMT 5 Jan 93

["Ukraine Declines To Sign the Present Version of CIS Charter"—INTERFAX headline; following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The CIS Charter offered for signing now coincides neither with Ukrainian potentialities and legislative norms, nor with its national interests. It answers to the interests of those forces which want to return to a united state, said Ukraine's President, Leonid Kravchuk, on Monday [4 January] at a consultative conference with spokesmen for 26 Ukrainian political parties, associations and movements. Participants in the conference discussed Ukraine's attitude to the plans to sign the CIS Charter.

According to L. Kravchuk, at first it's essential to resolve common problems, finalize the necessary documents and consider the consequences of signing the Charter for all members of the Commonwealth.

Ukraine, said its president, will not consider the prospects for participating in the CIS in the capacity of an associated member or observer. According to him, the republic might consider the entire package of documents with addenda and explanations to it, not the suggested CIS Charter. However it might take decades to work out such documents.

World public opinion, said L. Kravchuk, is interested in having the CIS Charter signed, because it fears that the development of events in the former USSR might take the Yugoslav road, and that nuclear arms will get divided uncontrollably. "I don't think that our internal problems interest them," the president said.

Ukraine also has forces that want it to be a member of the CIS, said L. Kravchuk. "I held a post in the CPSU when the USSR existed as an empire. Now I'll spare no efforts in opposing the attempts to return to an empire," he said. "A different attitude would be a step away from my people and from my country." According to L. Kravchuk, Russia has always been beset by the idea of a superpower and a leading force in the CIS and beyond it. "We are not criticising it for this. Russia pursues a policy that answers to its interests," he said. Ukraine must not interfere in the internal affairs of any country. However, the Ukrainian president said, as a member of the U.N. and of the CSCE, Russia should be guided in its policy by international norms and principles; it has no right to prevent the Ukrainian people from expressing their will. Besides, said L. Kravchuk, if there are wise politicians in Russia, they'll do their best to avoid confrontation between the two countries.

The president dismissed the assertions that Ukraine's failure to sign the CIS Charter will bring about economic pressure on it. "No nation will part with its wealth in favor of Ukraine simply for its signature to the Charter. President Yeltsin told me in a cable that from now on Russia will determine the general quota of oil exports, not quotas for each consumer state, as it did previously," said L. Kravchuk.

Kravchuk To Meet Yeltsin in Moscow 9 Jan

OW0501132593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian and Ukrainian Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk will meet on January 9th in Moscow, according to an announcement made on Tuesday [5 January] at a press conference in Kiev by Ukrainian First Vice-Premier Igor Yunkhovsky.

No details regarding the forthcoming talks were given.

The meeting had originally been planned for December 24th in Moscow but was postponed. The official reason was Boris Yeltsin falling ill at the time.

National Affairs

Commission Chairman Views Military Policy

AU0501110393 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 30 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with Valentyn Panteliyovych Lemish, chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council Commission for Questions of Defense and State Security, by Volodymyr Mokhurenko; place and date not given: "The Duty Must Become Sacred"]

[Text] [Mokhurenko] Valentyn Panteliyovych, Ukraine's Supreme Council, in particular the Commission for Questions of Defense and State Security, is putting in considerable effort to lay the most reliable legal foundation for Ukraine's Armed Forces. What is the contribution of legislation in this sphere?

[Lemish] In accordance with the Minsk accord concluded by the countries that had founded the CIS (in December 1991), Ukraine began, on 3 January 1992, to build its own Armed Forces. The first package of corresponding legislative acts that were approved last year by the fourth session of Ukraine's Supreme Council constituted a legal basis for this.

The Concept of Defense and Building of Ukraine's Armed Forces has been approved, and its theses have been incorporated in the military doctrine that is presently in the final stage of elaboration—a concentrated document of a sovereign state on its military building. Among the most important documents adopted at the sessions are the laws "On the Defense of Ukraine," "On the Armed Forces of Ukraine," "On the National Guard of Ukraine," "On the National Border of Ukraine," "On the Social and Legal Protection of Servicemen and Members of Their Families," the Regulation on the Procedure for Bringing Up to Strength the National Guard and Border Troops and Their Military, Material-Technical, and Financial Provision. Ukraine's Defense Council was created as a supreme state organ for collective leadership in questions of the country's defense and security; the text of the military oath was approved.

Ukraine's Armed Forces are called upon to reliably defend its vital interests. They must be built in conformity with contemporary requirements and must have a high combat readiness. It is necessary to make military service prestigious in people's eyes, as was the case in the past, in the times of Kievan Rus and Cossackdom with its glorious military traditions.

[Mokhurenko] How do you see Ukraine's military doctrine?

[Lemish] Ukraine's military doctrine must determine an integral system of the state's views on preventing war, on military building, and on the preparation of the state and its Armed Forces for repulsing aggression, proceeding from the prevailing military and political circumstances. The draft doctrine has a defense orientation, and it must be subordinated to the main task—to strengthen international security, to defend the state from a possible aggression, to guarantee its territorial integrity, independence, and constitutional structure. It is emphasized that Ukraine is creating its own Armed Forces exclusively for guaranteeing its security, while adhering to the norms of international law, the United Nations Charter, and the Helsinki Final Act. This defense orientation of the military doctrine is in focus of persistent attention on the part of the countries of the world toward Ukraine that is acquiring importance as a sovereign and peace-loving state. The draft military doctrine needs to be further elaborated, and it is precisely this that we are diligently doing together with experts.

[Mokhurenko] What is the commission doing to ensure the servicemen's social protection?

[Lemish] A corresponding law adopted at the fifth session specified conditions, norms, and the procedure for ensuring pensions for servicemen and officers of the organs of internal affairs. This law is one of the most important ones in the life of servicemen. It will accelerate the creation of the Armed Forces of independent Ukraine and will raise their authority and the prestige of the military service. The fact that this law was discussed in one package with the bill on the universal military duty points to the consistent policy that is being pursued for strengthening the legal foundation of the building of Ukraine's Armed Forces. Just like in other countries, the question of pensions for servicemen and their families was considered outside the general system of pension legislation, because military service involves particular difficulties, unconditional fulfillment of the demands of the military oath, statutes, and orders, in many cases at a risk for the life of servicemen. This law will respond flexibly to changes in the standard of living in Ukraine, because minimal pensions and various additions to them will be taken into account proceeding from the subsistence minimum.

[Mokhurenko] Do the members of your commission exercise parliamentary control in the military sphere?

[Lemish] This is one of our urgent tasks. When Ukraine was a constituent part of the USSR, the control functions regarding the military formations on its territory were a direct responsibility of Union structures. Ukraine is now acquiring its own experience.

By way of exercising parliamentary control, the Supreme Council analyzed questions and adopted a decree "On the Situation Regarding Pursuing Ukraine's Military Policy and Implementing Legislative Acts in the Military Sphere," in accordance with which all military formations stationed on our territory are directly subordinated to the Chief Commander of Ukraine's Armed Forces—its president. It is recommended that Ukraine's president also consider the question of creating an effective system of managing Ukraine's military- industrial complex and ensure closed cycles of manufacturing weapons, military technology, and equipment for the needs of Ukraine's Armed Forces. Regarding Ukraine's acquiring a nuclear-free status, the Supreme Council proposed additional measures, having confirmed the course assumed by Ukraine toward peaceful cooperation with the entire world community, nonparticipation in military blocs, neutrality, and adherence in the future to three nonnuclear principles. It is recommended that Ukraine's president enter into negotiations with leaders of the world's nuclear powers to comprehensively resolve problems associated with the destruction of nuclear weapons, taking into account the need to promote, as soon as possible, the implementation of the 1991 treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons. Ukraine's Supreme Council authorized corresponding commissions to consider the entire complex of questions associated with nuclear disarmament, particularly economic, financial, ecological, organizational, and other aspects of the destruction of nuclear weapons located on the territory of Ukraine, including the use of their components for peaceful purposes. This is necessary from the point of view of Ukraine's security guarantees and external political interests. Services of specialists from corresponding ministries, departments, and Ukraine's Academy of Sciences have been enlisted for this work, and if need be, independent experts will also be invited.

The Supreme Council has authorized the government to submit for ratification the agreement, concluded on 21 December 1991, on joint measures regarding nuclear weapons and the Agreement of 14 February 1992 concluded by CIS states on the status of strategic forces. Ukraine's Ministry of Defense has been given the task to take measures for bringing up to strength the strategic missile forces stationed on the territory of our state with servicemen of Ukraine's Armed Forces. It is necessary to point out that the strong legal foundation for building our own Armed Forces that has been created by the Supreme Council and the clear state course of the military policy contribute to a situation in which other countries of the world look upon Ukraine as a guarantor of stability in its region and on the European Continent as a whole. One can feel an increasingly distinct attitude toward Ukraine as a power that has its own Armed Forces and that occupies a firm position in European processes.

Green Party Sees 'Merciless' Pressure on Nuclear Issue

LD0401170093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] (Volodymyr Kononov), co-chairman of the Kiev coordination center of the Green Party of Ukraine, reported on 3 January that the Greens have prepared an open letter for the press. This particularly emphasizes that the preservation of nuclear weapons on the one hand, and the accumulation of nuclear potential on the other hand, will take Ukraine into a merciless vice of pressure, which neither social programs nor the environment will be able to withstand.

Kravchuk Approves Commission for Foreign Economic Ties

AU0401141893 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 30 Dec 92 p 2

["Ukrainian Presidential Directive on the Regulation on the Ukrainian Presidential Commission for Ties With International Financial Institutions and Control Over External Economic Activity" issued in Kiev on 25 December]

[Text] In the fulfillment of Ukrainian Presidential Edict No. 553 of 7 November 1992 "On the Ukrainian Presidential Adviser for External Economic Questions and Chairman of the Ukrainian Presidential Commission for Ties With International Financial Institutions and Control Over the External Economic Activity":

1. To approve the Regulation on the Ukrainian Presidential Commission for External Economic Questions (in supplement).

2. To approve the composition of the Ukrainian Presidential Commission for Ties With International Financial Institutions and Control Over External Economic Activity in accordance with the supplement.

[Signed] Ukraine President L. Kravchuk

[Dated] Kiev, 25 December 1992

Official Views Work of President's Apparatus

AU0401130793 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 25 Dec 92 p 2

[Interview with Mykola Khomenko, secretary of Ukraine's Presidential Administration, by Valentyna Pysanska; place and date not given: "Who Is in the Presidential Administration?"]

[Text] **Everything that is happening behind the scenes of power structures evokes interest, and not only on the part of common citizens. If, for example, some American wants to learn about his president in greater detail, he will not have to put in too much effort to get the necessary information. He will derive this information from the law on state service, official reference books, and dozens of bestsellers from which he will learn everything concerning the surroundings of the first person of the state: from his salary to the gourmet tastes of his team.**

In our country, the situation in this regard is traditionally much more complicated—we learn about such things from rumors. However, who has occupied the building at 11

Bankova Street with a sign in front of its door: "The Administration of Ukraine's President"?

The editorial board of HOLOS UKRAYINY asked Mykola Khomenko, secretary of the administration, to tell us about this.

[Khomenko] Well, what is the "Administration of Ukraine's President" or the "president's team"? First, these are people who share the president's ideas, who are at the source of his policies, and who are directly involved in elaborating concepts of programs and actions. The presidential administration is the president's working instrument that has been created proceeding from the powers of the president as specified in the Constitution of our state. I would like to remind you, in particular, that the president is the head of state and head of Ukraine's executive power, that he is a guarantor of the citizens' rights and freedoms and of Ukraine's state sovereignty, and that he implements the Constitution and laws of Ukraine through a system of organs of state executive power. He is authorized to represent our state in international relations and ensure Ukraine's defense capability, national security, and territorial integrity. Undoubtedly, the fulfillment of these extremely complex powers—we have only outlined some of them—requires scientific provisions for elaborating the president's program for action in the main directions of state policy, in issuing corresponding edicts and directives, and in adopting other authoritative decisions.

Of course, in his activity, the president relies upon the Cabinet of Ministers, local state administrations, and other state organs that constantly "feed" him legislative initiatives, new ideas and proposals, and submit to him analyses and reports on various questions of state life.

Here, the apparatus fulfills the role of a generalizing center, offers consultative assistance to the president, studies variants of solutions to be adopted by the head of state, and predicts possible political, international, and socioeconomic consequences of their adoption.

[Pysanska] What is the quantitative composition of the administration?

[Khomenko] It is not large, up to 180 high-ranking officials. There also are technical workers. We wanted to enlist the services of experienced scientists, politicians, lawyers, economists, and specialists with practical experience for the administration. Today, it has 33 doctors and candidates of science; 51 persons have juridical education, and four previously worked in diplomatic and international organizations.

I would identify two trends in the activity of the apparatus. The first is analytical. It is mainly taken care of by the juridical, economic, and information and analytical services, presidential services for international and political questions and questions of territories, and also by a group of assistants and assessors. Officials in these subdivisions analyze and generalize problems of socioeconomic development and the international situation of Ukraine, state development, and many others. As a rule, all this work ends in submitting conclusions, proposals, and legislative acts to the president.

Another section of our apparatus is constituted by functional subdivisions that ensure organizational activity of the administration. These are departments that deal with letters, citizenship, granting pardons, and giving awards.

They receive, daily, about 400 citizens' letters and appeals addressed to the president or to his administration. They deal with facts of violation of civil rights or freedoms, requests for granting citizenship, awards, or pardons. They also contain quite a number of recommendations and proposals of state significance. All of them are studied, analyzed, or considered by the president or are forwarded to central or local organs of state power and administration.

[Pysanska] Recently, the presidential team has undergone changes....

[Khomenko] I would say this: The president has restructured his administration in accordance with a fundamentally new redistribution of functions among Ukraine's legislative and executive powers. The State Duma was disbanded, and Ukrainian presidential consultative and adviser structures were created within the administration: a council for socioeconomic questions and three commissions—for political and legal, external economic, and scientific questions.

[Pysanska] Is this a shadow cabinet, as somebody referred to the State Duma?

[Khomenko] In this connection, individual people's deputies who are in opposition to the president made inquiries. There are no grounds whatsoever for such conclusions. The president has created his own advisory structures in conformity with the law.

[Pysanska] There is talk that the administration employs members of the former government.

[Khomenko] These rumors are an exaggeration. V. Symonenko and O. Slyepichev have been approved as presidential advisers. No other appointments are expected. As is known, presidential advisers are leading figures in his team, and the president holds extensive consultations before making appointments.

[Pysanska] Is it true that the apparatus of the presidential administration "eats up" a considerable part of the budget?

[Khomenko] Much less than apparatuses of many central organs.

I will take advantage of this opportunity and try to defend state officials. Today, the average salary of the high officials in the central apparatus is lower than in industry. Unlike their foreign colleagues, these people are socially unprotected. If, for example, a minister resigns, this may entail the dismissal of the apparatus officials. Today, in many apparatuses, especially at the level of rayons and

oblasts, there is a great exodus of workers, mainly of those who are particularly well qualified for state service.

That is why we urgently need a law on state service. Its draft has already been prepared and submitted to the Supreme Council.

[Pysanska] How does the apparatus of Ukraine's president cooperate with the Cabinet of Ministers?

[Khomenko] We have businesslike ties. We hold consultations on draft documents that are being adopted. Presidential advisers take part in meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers. That is to say, we try to keep each other fully informed. This is cooperation of people who have a common goal—to extricate Ukraine from the crisis.

Government Officials Issue 1993 Economic Forecast

OW3112183392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Report by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pinzenik**

"Although there'll be a slowdown in the production slump every month, I don't think it can be halted altogether next year. We expect the economy to somewhat stabilise by the end of 1993. The curbing of inflation rate will begin in April, with a monthly rate of inflation to be brought down to 3% by next December compared to 50-60% as it is now. But this can happen if the government enforces its austerity plan which has been completed and is ready to go before the cabinet in the next few days.

There will be no sharp price rises after January. The government is resolved to carry out stringent anti-inflationary policies".

The President's Chief Economic Aide Viktor Suslov

"We hope that the worst is behind, and the country will fare better in 1993. However, the state of the economy is determined by internal factors which are not dependent on government policies, including inefficiency and backward production structures. But the closure of inefficient factories can lead to unemployment and social tension.

Next month's price liberalisation is a largely forced measure and the government will not be able to put a lid on price rises.

Power struggle will largely determine next year's developments, with government-launched reforms running against opposition from old structures which fear losing a grip on the country's economy. The government will be able to make a success if its reform programme is both economic and political".

Decrees Target Unease at Falling Living Standards

PM3112125392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Tsikora: "Ukraine: Decrees To Reassure the Populace"]

[Text] Having realistically assessed the population's initial reaction to the releasing of prices, the republic's cabinet of ministers has swiftly adopted a series of decrees, which the government intends should moderate people's unhappiness over rapidly declining living standards.

The latest session of the cabinet of ministers examined a number of questions connected with the expansion of the economic reform and the social protection of citizens. Among other things, provision is made for introducing a new minimum wage and minimum pension. They will amount to 4,600 karbovanets coupons in the republic. On the basis of another decree the government intends in the coming year to drastically lower the rate of inflation and, to that end, pay at state enterprises is being frozen. But this innovation will be introduced on a differentiated basis. The ban will not affect enterprises where real quantitative production indicators rise or the net cost falls.

Another package of decrees relates to the sphere of combating speculation, which is becoming an increasingly powerful irritant factor in society. The innovations also affect customs policy. A series of decrees was adopted regulating duty on goods coming into or going out of the republic.

There is special concern for citizens who are unable to provide for themselves in price liberalization conditions.

"Special subsidies for the poorest strata of the population were introduced in the Ukraine as of December 1992," vice prime minister V. Pinzenik said. "The additional payments will be increased again in January 1993."

These government measures will of course meet with a positive response from Ukrainian citizens. Whether these resolutions and decrees will relieve the tension that has occurred in society is another matter.

Decree Exempts Businesses From Interest on Credits

AU0401200193 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 22 Dec 92 p 1

["Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers Decree on Exempting Businesses From Paying the Interest on Credits and From the Responsibility for Failure To Repay Them on Time" issued in Kiev on 9 December]

[Text] In connection with the growing debts of Ukraine's businesses and in order to prevent possible bankruptcies, the Cabinet of Ministers decrees as follows:

1. That the return from the Central Bank of Russia of the settlement documents of Ukraine's businesses regarding the payments effected between August and October 1992 is

a circumstance exempting these businesses from paying the interest and from the responsibility, in terms of property, for the failure to repay on time credits obtained by them from Ukraine's commercial banks for carrying out such payments.

The exemption from paying the aforementioned interest and from the responsibility in terms of property is effective from the day of making the payment to the Russian counterpart to the day of depositing the corresponding sum that has been returned to the account of a Ukraine's enterprise.

2. In the circumstances and conditions specified in Article 1 of the present decree, Ukrainian commercial banks must, by the end of 1992, return to the current accounts of Ukraine's businesses the sums of interest and the fines that were actually paid for failure to repay the credits on time; the losses must be attributed to the results of the financial and economic activity of the banks.

3. The present decree becomes effective on the day of its publication.

[Signed] L.Kuchma, Ukraine's prime minister

A. Lobov, minister of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers

[Dated] Kiev 9 December 1992

Supreme Council Standing Commissions Hold Meetings

AU0401183793 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 23 Dec 92 p 1

[Statement by the Press Center of Ukraine's Supreme Council in Kiev: "In Commissions of Ukraine's Supreme Council"]

[Text] Following a week of plenary sessions held by the Supreme Council, the work of the standing commissions has continued.

On 22 December, the **Commission for Questions of Legislation and Law Enforcement** held a meeting. The deputies, jointly with the specialists, worked on the main theses of the bill on the election of Ukraine's people's deputies. The bill on the arbitration court was also discussed and a number of decrees adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers were analyzed.

Members of the **Commission for Foreign Affairs** discussed at their meeting the question of recognizing Slovakia and the Czech Republic. They also spoke about preparations for discussing the main trends of Ukraine's external policy. Discussions on other issues were also held.

Members of the **Commission for Questions of Defense and State Security** left for Kharkov. Jointly with representatives of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense, they will study problems of the region's military-industrial complex, the activity of military schools, and other questions of military building.

Members of the **Commission for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Utilization of Nature** are currently working in Dnipropetrovsk. Together with deputies from several other commissions, they are analyzing the course of implementing the Law on Environmental Protection in the Donets-Dnieper Region. The results of this and previous examinations will be discussed on 23 December at the meeting of the commission, in which the heads of a number of ministries, departments, and enterprises will take part, as well as representatives of the local authorities of the Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhya, and Luhansk oblasts.

Commentary Views Goals Set by Opposition Leaders

AU0501122993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 30 Dec 92 p 4

[Commentary by Volodymyr Skachko: "Rukh and 'New Ukraine' Have Learned Their Lessons"]

[Text] V. Chornovil, leader of Rukh [Ukraine's People's Movement for Perestroyka], added to his old definition of the current year as "the year of wasted opportunities" yet another one: "and of bitter lessons." V. Filenko, chairman of "New Ukraine" agreed with him, and the two leaders pointed out that, perhaps, the only positive aspect of these lessons is the fact that now the democratic opposition has clear knowledge of what it should no longer do in the future.

Having admitted that independent Ukraine has suffered the greatest losses in politics and not in the economy (the old political system has remained unchanged), the leaders of the opposition stated at their news conference that it is necessary to fight to replace the power with new people and declared war against the system of Soviets. "We need a new and strong representative power, but not Soviets. It is a reactionary idea, and there can only be talk about the abolishment of the Soviet power. This is because the main threat to the democratic transformations in Ukraine issues from it and not from presidential authoritarianism that has not taken root in our country," said V. Chornovil. V. Filenko, having pointed out that democratic progress in Ukraine has stopped and that the Democrats began to give up their achievements, added: "In this situation, we are destined to be in opposition, in one form or another, to the present authorities."

The main task for the coming year was outlined as the need to unite the opposition forces, to build power structures, to form a foundation for a civil society, and to struggle against two enemies of Ukrainian statehood. The internal enemy is represented by the multifaceted Communist forces that have become adapted to the situation and are raising their head everywhere demanding that Ukraine's Communist Party be restored as a state structure. The external enemy is personified by those imperial forces in Russia that have gained strength today and are trying to put economic pressure on Ukraine. V. Chornovil also remarked that he personally saw the latter threat when the positions of B. Yeltsin were shaken, because he had

regarded the Russian president as a certain guarantor of normal relations between Ukraine and Russia.

Therefore, the opposition has summed up the results and declared that it is ready for political battles against its opponents. The leaders wished the people of Ukraine to maintain perseverance and belief in the inevitability of building an independent state. It is not simply interesting what the people opt for, but extremely important for the state, because the wish is, in principle, to the point.

'First National Space Program' Developed

LD0301231893 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1545 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Report from Ukraine by correspondent Gennadiy Klimov—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The first national space program has been developed in Dnepropetrovsk, the center of Ukrainian rocket construction. This was initiated by the Yuzhnoye design office, a joint creator of many well-known space systems. The new program, called Ariadna, envisages the setting up of a low orbit system of space communication. It will consist of 25 satellites placed in near-Earth orbits.

The Ariadna network of radio, television, and telephone communications will establish a link between Ukraine and Russia, and ensure reliable reception of information from satellites between the continents. Apart from the fact that Ariadna is less expensive than existing communication systems, it is also a complex international space program which requires the support of the state and money investments. However, at present it is being carried out by interested firms from Ukraine and Russia on a commercial basis.

Belarus

President Shushkevich Sums Up Past Year

OW0101084193 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 30 Dec 92

[A. Zhuk video interview with Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of Belarus Supreme Soviet; from the "Utro" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Zhuk] It is a fact that the people of the Belarus Republic have lived this year in peace and quiet. What do you think of that?

[Shushkevich] This is a very small achievement. There are no reasons for fighting, and fighting has only emerged in places where ambitious politicians wish to change the power structure and personnel makeup which were achieved through elections. I think this must be avoided and that we must live according to the law. If the laws are not very good—which is something we are no strangers to, in certain respects—then these laws must be changed, clarified, and perfected in a civilized way. We are at the threshold of a significant event, the adoption of our constitution, and we are preparing for it very seriously.

[Zhuk] As the chairman of Belarus Supreme Soviet, how would you sum up the year?

[Shushkevich] I would say that it could have been better. It is bad to rejoice that our situation is better than that of others. Should we say that we were not the worst off? There should be no bad situations at all.

[Zhuk] It is customary to make wishes on New Year's Eve. This is a rule that includes heads of state. What is your strongest wish for the new year?

[Shushkevich] I would wish that the trend that started in November, the stabilization of our economy—we even had a small growth rate of less than 1 percent—is not an accidental occurrence but a logical result of our past activities.

[Zhuk] Some people in our republic are reluctant to even talk about this small improvement in the economy.

[Shushkevich] So am I. But this position has been carefully examined, and there has been nothing like until now. Up to this point the growth rate percentage was a plunging figure. I therefore think this is a positive phenomenon. I, too, am superstitious and would like to touch wood, but let us refrain from such acts in state matters. I think that this trend should prevail.

[Zhuk] Thank you.

Kebich on Improving Servicemen's Conditions

LD0201100893 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1815 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] On 31 December, Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the ceremony of swearing allegiance at the special-purpose batallion in Minsk Oblast. He not only attended but he swore allegiance himself.

[Begin Kebich recording] The Armed Forces law of the Republic of Belarus charges the Council of Ministers with the defense of our republic and the fulfillment of agreements with other states on defense issues. Since all issues regarding construction of the Armed Forces, control of activities of the Ministry of Defense and other ministries, and committees and departments in charge of defense are under the direct jurisdiction of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, I consider it my duty to take a military oath too and I ask for your permission to do it today in your presence on this solemn day. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Vyacheslav Kebich, prime minister of Belarus, then made a speech to the servicemen. He said in particular.

[Begin Kebich recording] With the swearing of allegiance, an independent path of our Armed Forces is in effect started and a new page of a glorious history of your unit is being opened. You, dear servicemen, become a guarantor of our sovereignty. The economy today is in a way also a battlefield where we should win by all means. There is no alternative in the long term. I will not speak about those difficulties which occur today on that path. There are more than enough of them but we carve our way through those difficulties. I am convinced that we will overcome all those difficulties which our agrarian sector is undergoing today. The government, with full support of the Supreme Soviet, solves within the means available to it questions in connection with wage increases. Of course, the only path that the government follows is to ease the life of people at these difficult times. We are exercising maximum restraint in the increase of retail prices for fuel and foodstuffs which from day to day [words indistinct] and keep the level of prices on them under direct control of the government.

In this connection, I must say that we will continue to follow this policy although many things depend on external economic (?factors) and especially on the prices for fuel and energy which we receive from Russia. But you can be sure of one thing. In the first months of the new year we will maintain the main types of foodstuffs at the current levels. I am saying this because I believe that in order for a serviceman to serve successfully, he must have peace of mind about his relatives, his family, and his children. It is also an invisible but a very important part of our military doctrine. If we are to speak about it directly I must remind you that [word indistinct] of the contents of that doctrine are very substantially backed up by the adoption at the present session of the Supreme Soviet of a package of laws which specify the legal orientation of creation and reform of the Armed Forces.

The essence of our military policy boils down to the fact that it is founded on neutrality. We interpret neutrality broadly. It also includes the fact that the Republic of Belarus does not see any other state as a potential enemy and builds its relations with everyone on the basis of

equality and mutual interests and creates modern Armed Forces of the strength necessary for defense against sudden attack.

In that context it is very important to emphasize that the adopted laws give concrete expression to the status of the Armed Forces and, in the system of state institutions, to their relations with all the other structures of the republic. That is precisely what we did not have until now. Not a single serviceman of the Republic of Belarus will from now on serve without his consent outside its borders.

In the very near future we will reconsider some norms for clothing and food provision of servicemen. As is known, Armed Forces in any country always hold a special place and demand a special attitude toward them. At the same time I would like to express my considerations on some matters of principle. I would, taking into account current circumstances, put the issue of participation of our republic in the system of collective security of the CIS countries. You know that several months ago at a (?routine) meeting of heads of state and government, a relevant agreement were signed by some states of the commonwealth. Belarus did not sign that agreement because we believe that adequate conditions do not exist; this concerns primarily stability in many regions of the former Union.

And we cannot risk the lives of our servicemen even for the sake of large political gains although we do not reject collective security in principle. We will probably come to that but first there should appear the relevant conditions.

And now the issue of the nuclear-free zone. Back in June 1992 tactical warheads in the arsenal of the Belarusian Army were removed from the territory of the republic. Therefore we are effectively already a nuclear-free state. However, a separate strategic contingent of the Russian Armed Forces is deployed on our territory. The period of its stay in accordance with international agreements is limited to seven years, but we will make efforts to shorten that period.

The Army's problems naturally do not begin and end only in the problems of arms strategy and tactics. Behind this there are people with their [word indistinct] and their everyday concerns. Very many people who have devoted their life to the Army are today concerned how to live in future and about what will happen to them and their families because it is absolutely clear that substantial cuts are imminent, which evokes serious concern among officers. Therefore I would like to clarify some points in that connection. Reform of the Armed Forces is inevitable, and in fact it has already started. As the majority of you already know, at the first stage, which will last two-three years, Army manning will be based mainly on the principles of military service.

At the second stage, which will start not earlier than 1996-97, the center of emphasis of Army manning will be shifted toward (?replacing) the number of servicemen who will serve on a contractual basis. Eventually the entire Army will be transferred to a contractual basis. But both today's servicemen and those who will start their service need necessary conditions for life and service. And there the issue of accommodation is a very big issue. The government knows it very well and, I must tell you, that, despite great budget difficulties, we will increase funds for construction of accommodation for servicemen. Next year it is envisaged to allocate for those purposes from the budget at least 5 billion rubles, which will make a contribution to solving the accommodation problem. But it by no means removes the responsibility of local soviets in allocating part of accommodation for servicemen from their funds.

For these issues to be resolved more actively, Army subunits themselves must also undertake construction of accommodation. They have for that enough specialists, equipment, and production capacities. All this is reinforced by the fact that, by the decision of the government, 70 percent of the hard currency raised from sales of spare military property will be also channelled to (?their) housing construction. By the end of the next year we will grant favorable long-term credits for construction of private houses or apartments to those servicemen who want them.

A government decision has been adopted, the results of which you will see literally any day now. I have signed a resolution which on average doubles rank-related income for all categories of servicemen. That resolution comes into force on 1 January. [end recording]

Decree on Implementation of Universal Military Obligation

WS0401133293 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian No 231, 4 Dec 92 p 1

[Belarusian Supreme Council's Decree "On Implementation of the Law 'On the Universal Military Service Obligation and Military Service'"; issued in Minsk on 10 November]

[Text] The Belarusian Supreme Council **decrees:**

1. To enact the Law of the Republic of Belarus "On the Universal Military Service Obligation and Military Service" from the day of its publication.

2. To establish that Article 23 of the law does not extend to servicemen of fixed period service called up for military service before the adoption of the current law.

3. For the Belarusian Council of Ministers within three months:

—to confirm necessary normative acts on military service of officers, warrant officers, and servicemen of fixed period service, on contract military service, on call-up for fixed period service, and on training of preconscripts and conscripts;

—to bring government resolutions into conformity with the Law of the Republic of Belarus "On the Universal Military Service Obligation and Military Service".

[Signed] S. Shushkevich, Supreme Council chairman of the Republic of Belarus

[Dated] Minsk, 10 November 1992

Decree on Implementation of Law on Armed Forces

WS0401133093 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian No 228, 1 Dec 92 p 1

[Republic of Belarus Supreme Council Decree on the Introduction Into Force of the Republic of Belarus Law 'On the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus'; issued in Minsk on 3 November]

[Text] The Belarusian Supreme Council **decrees:**

1. To enact the Belarusian Law 'On the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus' from the day of its publication.

2. To charge the Belarusian Council of Ministers to submit within three months to the Supreme Council of Belarus proposals on bringing legislative acts of the Republic of Belarus into conformity with the Law 'On the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus'.

[Signed] S. Shushkevich, Supreme Council chairman of the Republic of Belarus

[Dated] Minsk, 3 November 1992

Decree on Implementation of Law on Servicemen Status

WS0401133193 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian No 230, 3 Dec 92 p 1

[Belarusian Supreme Council's Decree "On Implementation of the Law 'On Status of Servicemen' of the Republic of Belarus"; issued in Minsk on 13 November]

[Text] The Belarusian Supreme Council **decrees:**

1. To enact the Law of the Republic of Belarus 'On Status of Servicemen' from the day of its publication.

2. To charge the Belarusian Council of Ministers within one month:

—taking into account the peculiarities of military service, to define terms and dates for the privatization of servicemen's dwellings in houses of the state and social housing funds, as well as terms and dates for supplying with dwellings those servicemen who were transferred to the reserve by 1 July 1992;

—to submit to the Belarusian Supreme Council proposals on amending and supplementing the legislative acts of the Republic of Belarus arising from the current law;

—to adopt necessary resolutions on the implementation of the Law 'On Status of Servicemen';

—to ensure for ministries and departments the right to revise and repeal normative acts contradicting the current law.

3. To establish that servicemen in the two-year active service have their annual leave according to Paragraph 3 of Article 12.

[Signed] S. Shushkevich, Supreme Council chairman of the Republic of Belarus

[Dated] Minsk, 13 November 1992

Moldova

Snegur, Iliescu's Special Envoy Discuss Relations

AU0401175293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1702 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES, 4/1/1993—Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, received Monday, January 4, secretary of state, substitute for the minister of foreign affairs, Traian Chebeleu. A special envoy of Romania's President Ion Iliescu, Mr. Chebeleu carried a message to President Snegur.

Discussions were held on the ties between Romania and Moldova.

Article Criticizes Snegur's Stance on Unification

AU0401202593 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 Dec 92 p 8

[Mihai Vicol article: "President Snegur's 'Confusion'"]

[Text] In less than a month, President Mircea Snegur has repeatedly expressed an increasingly clear anti-union position. With his 24 December statement in parliament, he obliterated numerous chances.

As a matter of fact, President Mircea Snegur did not attack the Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs of the Republic of Moldova, but rather the idea of unification. This direct attack against Minister Ion Ungureanu represents a warning by the president to all those who favor unification. Here is what Mircea Snegur said: "However, recently both in Bucharest and Chisinau there have been more and more frequent statements forecasting and establishing a deadline for unification (...) Moreover, numerous covert actions are being taken in this respect, thus subjecting the 'eadership of the Republic to the consequences of decisions made to destabilize the situation, which contribute to the disorientation of the population and cause uncertainty and concern. A tangible example is the symposium recently convened by the Academy of Economic Studies on the subject of Moldova's and Romania's economic integration, a symposium to which neither the president of the Republic nor the prime minister, or even numerous recognized economists, were invited."

I have talked to the people who organized that symposium and I have learned that these people had indeed been invited and even President Snegur had a representative at the symposium.

"The proposals made by certain dignitaries during their addresses at this symposium," President Snegur continued, "are causing great confusion, fomenting passions, and increasing tension. Thus, the idea of currency union, as well as that of fiscal, banking, customs, prices and tariff systems, is obviously at variance with the provisions of our Declaration on Sovereignty and Independence."

President Snegur also wants to air another "misunderstanding": "What I also have in mind is what has happened to our church. In my view, what was declared by the Holy Synod in Bucharest proves a lack of respect for the leadership of Moldova, whose position was totally ignored. Maybe I am being too categorical, but this action actually benefits the separatists because the decisions of the Synod refer to only one side of the Republic. Through its actions, the Romanian Patriarchy contributed to the territorial dismemberment of the Republic of Moldova." Thus, Mr. Mircea Snegur accuses the Romanian Patriarchy of the dismemberment of the Moldovan state and of the war on the bank of the Dniester River, while the minister of culture and religious affairs is blamed for having observers at the meeting between Bishop Petru of Balti and the representatives of the Holy Synod in Bucharest.

Reaction to these statements followed immediately. Mr. Ilie Bratu, a representative of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova [FPCDM], mentioned that the signing by Presidents Snegur and Yeltsin of the 21 July Moldovan-Russian Convention regarding the lessening of the conflict in the Dniester Region is a discriminatory measure against Moldova. "I think that the state of Moldova, a state that has no borders, no national currency, and no control over its whole territory does not actually exist," Ilie Bratu concluded.

President Snegur reacted harshly to the position of certain parliamentarians from the FPCDM group and others who did not agree with many things he said. However, the statement of the Orthodox believers in the Dniester Region favors President Snegur. "Kiev has taken the Orthodox Church of Dniester under its protection." The given parishes have already received the official document on the independence of the Moldovan Church vis-a-vis the Patriarchy of Moscow.

Additional Guards Appointed to Dniester Region's Borders

AU0401194393 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 30 Dec 92 p 1

[BASA news agency report from Chisinau: "336 Border Guards Will Watch the Borders of Transdniestria"]

[Text] Four Border Guard Commandant's Offices began their operation in the Dniester Republic on 27 December 1992. The Press Bureau of the National Security Ministry announces that each commandant's office comprises 84 persons and it has a good supply of weapons. The units are deployed in Tiraspol, Ribnita, Dubasari, and Grigoriopol. Grogoriy Popov, former commander of the Regional Rescue Detachments (TSO) and former chief of the second Battalion of the Republican Guard of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic was appointed as head of the Grigoriopol Commander's Office.

Foreign Ministry Official Objects to Unification Referendum

AU0501112693 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 30 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with Vasile Nedelciuc, president of the Commission in Charge of Foreign Relations of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, by an unidentified BBC correspondent; place and date not given: "A Referendum Will Mean a Definite Separation from Romania"]

[Text] [Nedelciuc] A referendum on the issue of Moldova's independence is untimely for various reasons: Moldova is currently sequestered, one part is controlled by rebel troops supported by a foreign army that is deployed on the country's territory; the current domestic political and social situation is of a nature that would polarize the society even more intensively, namely, some villages would vote for Romania, some for independence, and others for the association with the CIS; the working collectives would split, too; there would be speculations about who is Romanian and who is Moldovan, because there are also such types of talks. We believe that to carry out a referendum would mean a definite separation from Romania, which at the moment is Moldova's only and most real partner in the effort to consolidate its independence.

I personally have mentioned that independence is in fact a reasonable compromise between those who represent Moldova's native population—who from a legal point of view and from the point of view of international rights have the right to ask for unification with Romania—and the other component of the population, which is of a different nationality, who came to Moldova during the former Soviet regime. Therefore, independence is favorable to all of them.

[Reporter] Do you believe that President Snegur has a hidden goal, namely the unification of Moldova with the CIS?

[Nedelciuc] Perhaps there are enough forces who urge Snegur to turn toward the CIS, although he has stated that he does not want such a thing. Nevertheless, there are certain people who do not see any other solution than to join the CIS. Those are people who do not believe in any other economy except the past economy, planned and directed by the state. They desire to reestablish old economic relations, which means: if not unification, then the CIS. However, there are also forces who often make Snegur turn toward another formula—independence and the most natural integration with Romania. Perhaps that, regardless of the situation that has been created in our society and regardless of certain people's power, President Snegur tries to act in such a way as to be able to strengthen his position and the balance in society.

[Reporter] Can you figure out what is the balance of forces in parliamentary debates between those who are for and those who are against the referendum?

[Nedelciuc] Moldova's Parliament is a nonprofessional parliament. The majority of parliamentarians have positions in various economic areas and are representatives of the leadership of economic units, most of which are state-owned. These people have a great influence on the workers' collectives that they are leading, and most of them are turning, if not toward the CIS then certainly toward another situation in which the relations with the CIS are stronger than with Romania or other countries. I think that the majority of those who represent the agrarian faction could support the association with the CIS, but they do not represent the majority in the parliament. I believe that many of those who have sensed reforms and have understood that there is no way back will not vote for the ratification of the Alma Ata documents. There are about 120-130 parliamentarians who favor the ratification.

Republican Party Explains Goals, Tasks

OW0401164993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Republican Party of Moldova formed at the end of the previous year is ready for cooperation with all political forces "which support the independence and the integrity of the republic." The new party voiced its position in its address distributed on Monday [4 January] qualifying itself as a centrist one.

The leaders of the party, represented by Viktor Pushkash, the deputy chairman of the parliament, Artur German, the first deputy Foreign Economic Relations Minister, responsible employees of ministries and departments, and functionaries of science and culture, believe that the present Moldovan parliament has outlived itself [as received]. That is why the party stands for an immediate conduction of new elections on a multi-party ground and for the adoption of new Constitution.

"An immediate withdrawal of the foreign forces from the Moldovan territory, the establishment of the civil peace, the solution of the problems of the Left Bank and Southern regions of Moldova" are among the other demands put forward in the document.

Kazakhstan

Foreign Minister Sums Up Policy Goals

OW0401162593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1449 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A kind of "security belt" has been formed on the perimeter of Kazakhstan's borders, and top priority in Kazakh foreign policy is given to relations with the CIS countries and with the former Soviet republics that failed to join the Commonwealth. The Kazakh Foreign Minister, Tuleutai Suleymenov, said so in an article printed by "KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA" on Monday [4 January].

108 countries have recognized Kazakhstan's independence, and diplomatic relations have been established with 70. Kazakhstan joined the U.N. and such institutions as the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund.

On May 25, 1992, Kazakhstan signed a treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual aid with Russia, said T. Suleymenov in his article. It also signed agreements with other CIS members: Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova. Agreements with Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Armenia are being drafted. Discussions are in progress on the possibility of including Kazakhstan in the CSCE Minsk group on Nagorno-Karabakh. Representatives of Kazakhstan's Foreign Ministry went to Tajikistan on three occasions. They visited the local hot spots and sought to help the warring sides reach reconciliation.

Solid legal foundations were laid for Kazakhstan's relationship with China. Some 50 agreements and protocols were signed to define bilateral relations. Agreements are being drafted on the agreed- upon border sections, on the ways to lower the level of military presence on both sides of the border, on the summoning of a joint commission for economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation, and on the ways to promote special free trade in the border region. 1993 is to see top-level contacts in relations between Kazakhstan and China. President Nursultan Nazarbayev is to pay another visit to China, and the head of China's government is to visit Kazakhstan.

Even though friendly ties with the neighbor countries are vitally important for Kazakhstan, it would be a mistake to confine such ties to one region, said T. Suleymenov in his article. "Regional thinking" would considerably narrow the possibility of political maneuver and limit opportunities for foreign investment, without which it is impossible to develop Kazakhstan's mineral wealth effectively. According to the Kazakh foreign minister, in this respect his country gives priority to relations with the USA, but without disregarding other important partners. Nursultan Nazarbayev's visits to Bonn and Paris resulted in laying legal foundations for relations with Germany and France.

As regards partners in South Asia, in 1993 India and Pakistan are to implement extensive programs for giving aid to Kazakhstan in training specialists in banking, economic management, diplomacy and agriculture.

With reference to relations with Muslim countries, T. Suleymenov said that Kazakhstan builds them on the basis of its national interests and generally-accepted international norms, not on ideological foundations. The Kazakh leadership, he pointed out, "strongly objects to any endeavors to ideologize foreign policy and international relations."

Emigration From Industrial Regions Doubles

OW0401193293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Emigration from the industrial regions of Kazakhstan has more than doubled, indicates a recent poll held by the country's employment research centre.

Most of the emigres are educated Russians, Ukrainians and Germans. Half of them said their decision was prompted by the need for better housing conditions, with 40% seeking new employment opportunities. 80% want to improve their living standards, and 30% spoke of wanting to go back to the country of their ancestors to be able to communicate in the native language.

However, none of the Kazakhs opted for emigration from the republic.

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev Argues for CIS Integration

PM0501111993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with President Askar Akayevich Akayev by Vladimir Ardayev in Bishkek, date not given: "Askar Akayev: The CIS Has Done Its Job...—Kyrgyzstan's President Answers Questions From IZVESTIYA's Correspondent"]

[Text] Bishkek—[Ardayev] Askar Akayevich, three months ago, after the Bishkek meeting of heads of CIS states and governments, you issued a truly optimistic evaluation both of its results, and of the Commonwealth as a whole. Has your opinion on the prospects for the CIS changed now?

[Akayev] No, my viewpoint on everything connected with the CIS and the hopes we pinned on it has not altered. It is simply that the actual form in which it exists today does not meet the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole or its individual members. Judging from the results of its first year of life, it is no longer capable in general of producing anything constructive.

We have to alter the form of our Commonwealth. Right at the very beginning we proposed that the CIS should have some kind of core comprising those states most closely integrated in the sphere of economic and military-political cooperation. We proposed that that Commonwealth members should exist on three levels—full members, associate members, and observers. Today however, it is impossible to ascertain who is joining in which capacity. Every CIS country is trying to gain something from the Commonwealth, but none is willing to take any kind of responsibility. It turns out that certain CIS participants freely make use of its benefits ("domestic" prices for fuel and energy resources, for instance) while simultaneously ignoring all the accords and agreements reached.

Which common structures can the CIS boast today? The formation of an economic court is progressing on an equal footing. But so far this is the only worthwhile body to be created by us in the sphere of economic cooperation. And instead of the economic council—a nonstate organ endowed with specific powers—a working consultative-coordinating economic commission has been set up. Who needs it, and why? We have quite enough consultants—our own, and foreign imports. Basically, we have not sorted out our position regarding the philosophy, aims, and functions of the CIS. And so we have not formulated them.

[Ardayev] You talked about a core within the Commonwealth. Exactly which states do you have in mind?

[Akayev] In practice, this core has already come into being—Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan. These countries stand up for integration, and close economic cooperation. And it is these countries first and foremost who may become full members of the Commonwealth. The rest are expected to clarify the bases on which they are entering the CIS.

[Ardayev] When dismantling the USSR, was it possible to avoid destroying elements which were truly vital, such as economic structures for instance?

[Akayev] We proposed this option back in October 1991. At that time, G. Yavlinskiy had submitted his project for economic union. Its weakness was that it preserved the principles of an economy based on distribution by directive. It was then that we too submitted our draft—for an economic community in the image of the EEC.

It would have been possible to preserve our economic integration in its entirety, and to switch the command mechanism to a mechanism for coordinated regulation. Such a total collapse of economic links as that which took place in the wake of the chain reaction of self-determination would not have occurred. But the moment was missed.

[Ardayev] In this event, how do you perceive the proposal expounded at the Russian Congress to restore the Union on a confederative basis?

[Akayev] I perceive this quite rationally. After all, no two confederations are alike. Of course, there can be no return to the imperial, totalitarian superstate. But why can we not build a new confederation of independent states? A confederation of free peoples?

[Ardayev] We have lived under conditions of independence for one year in all, and a tremendous difference in the policy of each former Union republic is evident even at this early stage! Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan—all of these states are different, and not just in name. Kyrgyzstan occupies a special position. It is the only republic which has managed to smother a bloody conflict (Osh) without any apparent danger of a recurrence. As far as can be judged from the information received, human rights in Kyrgyzstan are not infringed, and there are no clear manifestations of totalitarian thinking. At the same time, however, Uzbek human rights' defenders have been arrested in Bishkek...

[Akayev] The Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan are all different. I am convinced that each of the leaders has one aim: to create dignified living conditions for his people. And to guarantee stability so that people might be free of the fear of the future. The way to achieve this will depend on a multitude of factors. A people's traditions, the state of preparedness of social consciousness for reforms... I cannot judge, and I have no right to judge, the domestic policy of one or other independent state. The fact that Uzbek human rights' defenders were arrested here in Bishkek is a matter for the law enforcement organs. The CIS countries' law enforcement organs interact, and there are specific agreements on this score. I am sure that they will look into whether or not all legitimate measures were observed: At any rate, all responsibility for this action lies with them.

[Ardayev] But what about the situation with your vice president, who sold a batch of assault rifles to Tajikistan?

[Akayev] It is difficult for me to comment on this. Vice President Feliks Kulov, by agreement with the Supreme Soviet, is responsible for coordinating the activity of all law enforcement organs and the State Defense Committee. He is a military man, a professional, whom I trust implicitly—I myself proposed his candidacy for the vice presidency, and the Supreme Soviet supported it. We immediately stipulated that he should have all the requisite powers to coordinate the activity of law enforcement organs, fight against crime and corruption, and deal with organizing the republic's armed forces. I see no problem with the fact that he made a decision to sell weapons without coordinating this decision with me. He is a full-fledged vice president, and he is entitled to decide any question within his competence, especially as the weapons were sold at the request of a government head, and especially as they were sold to the legitimate authorities.

[Ardayev] In June, you addressed a summit meeting in Helsinki where the human rights problem was described as a priority issue. The world's press evaluated your speech very highly.

[Akayev] Yes, speaking in Helsinki I said that a guarantee of human rights must become the main area of our policy.

There is a danger in some CIS countries of a resurgence of national fascism, and the resurrection or conservation of such heinous phenomena as anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and so on. My speech did not have such far-reaching repercussions in CIS countries as it did abroad because we have everywhere declared this, but we by no means adhere to all of this everywhere. But until this becomes actual policy, particularly in such multinational republics as Kyrgyzstan, there will be neither peace nor interethnic accord.

[Ardayev] What, in your view, is the logic which drives the processes in Tajikistan, Nagorno-Karabakh, and North Ossetia?

[Akayev] The Kyrgyz people have a saying: When the people are troubled, the Earth is troubled. Have you never noticed that the natural disasters in the CIS recently all happened in precisely those places where the seats of conflict have emerged? Earthquakes occur with incredible regularity in places where there is disharmony among the people: Osh, Uzgen, Toktogul... And what about Spitak?

[Ardayev] Could it be that this is our common punishment for the experiment which was in fact carried out on us? But what if we were to take, say, the problem of the emigration of the Russian-speaking population from from the Central Asian republics as the theme of our conversation? Even in stable Kazakhstan this problem is being felt every more acutely—not so long ago, President Nazarbayev expressed concern over this phenomenon. There was a time when you also expressed such concern, but you went further and appealed to Russians not to leave. Did this help?

[Akayev] Indeed, this was so. I myself issued an appeal along with President Yeltsin. Migration reached its peak in 1990 when the Osh events took place. Now the process has been stabilized, and there is no panic surrounding it. Many factors played a role here, including the opening of the Slav University. A lot of people leave because they are concerned about one question: Where will the children study? This university, which is based on Russian-language instruction and which we want to make into a first-class university, is useful for the Kyrgyz population too—it is a stepping-stone to world culture. It will be a writers' school, courses "for professors." A center for science, a magnet for the intelligentsia.

[Ardayev] One final question. Many people talk about personal interrelations between CIS state leaders. Kravchuk, it seems, does not get on with Yeltsin, Niyazov felt offended by Akayev, and so on. Would you like to say something on this score?

[Akayev] We, the CIS state leaders, must set an example for the demonstration of solidarity and cohesion. We must rise above our own feelings of self-esteem and know how to control ourselves. It may well be that I sometimes utter statements which do not suit our colleagues, but I have never, not even in thought, intended to insult anybody. On the contrary, I always stress the virtues of our colleagues. Universally elected presidents deserve every respect.

Akayev Signs Decree Recognizing Czech, Slovak Republics

OW0401184593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1708 GMT 4 Jan 93

[From the 5 January "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev has signed a decree recognizing the Czech and Slovak Republics as independent sovereign states.

As is known, on January 1, 1993, in compliance with the Resolution of the Federal Assembly of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic of November 25, 1992, the Czecho-Slovak Federation ceased to exist, transforming itself into two independent states: the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

President Akayev has instructed the Kyrgyz Foreign Ministry to conduct talks with the Czech Republic and Slovakia regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations with them beginning January 1, 1993, and substantiating the agreement reached by a formal document to that effect.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed an analogous edict, recognizing the independence of the Czech and Slovak Republics on December 29, 1992.

Iranian Humanitarian Aid Convoy Arrives

LD0401191893 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Excerpt] A humanitarian convoy sent to the people of Kyrgyzstan by the Iranian Red Crescent has arrived in Bishkek. These medicines, which are in such short supply, had spent about three months in Ashgabat where they were initially delivered by a foreign airline. As has happened on many previous occasions, our republic simply did not have the funds to transport the charitable gifts here.

In the end Mr. Morteza Tavassoli, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Kyrgyzstan, took matters into his own hands. Through his direct involvement protection was organized for a convoy of vehicles and all necessary expenses, including transport expenses, were paid. In the very near future 558 boxes of powders, ointments, and tablets will be distributed by the Kyrgyz Red Crescent to medical establishments which are in greatest need of medicines. [passage omitted]

Tajikistan

Government Issues Warning on Border Violations

LD0401203193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1951 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations January 4 TASS—Tajikistan said it will request military assistance from CIS states if Afghanistan continues violations of the Tajik state border, according to a statement circulated in the U.N. Headquarters on Monday.

Numerous armed units concentrated in border districts of Afghanistan have repeatedly violated the Tajik state border. Such actions cannot but cause a concern of the people and Government of the Republic of Tajikistan, the statement said.

The Tajik Government expressed hope that necessary measures will be taken to prevent further violations of the Tajik-Afghan border and to facilitate the return of Tajik refugees to the Republic.

If the interference in Tajikistan's internal affairs and violations of its borders by armed units stationed in Afghanistan continue, Tajikistan will have to appeal to the CIS member states which have recognised Tajikistan's border as part of the CIS borders to help ensure its security on the basis of the agreement on CIS collective defence, the statement said.

Guards Kill 15 in Afghan Border Crossing Attempt

LD0501101693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0835 GMT 5 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Znamenskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 5—Last night the border guards in Pandzh rebuffed an attempt to cross the border into Tajikistan from Afghanistan by an armed group. ITAR-TASS learnt from sources in the press service of the Russian Border Guard Troops that 15 attackers were killed in the clash and the others retreated leaving behind a grenade launcher, a machine gun and two automatic rifles.

None of the border guards was hurt.

'Strict Measures' Against People Keeping Firearms

OW0401192293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1901 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Tajikistan the deadline for handing in illegally kept firearms expired on Monday [4 January]. The chairman of the National Security Committee, Colonel Saydamir Zukhurov has said "strict measures" will be taken against those who have preferred to keep their weapons.

Colonel Zukhurov has said that the authorities were closely monitoring the activity of the pro-government Popular Front of Tajikistan. Many of the Front's detachments have "refused to disarm themselves so far".

The official said that over the past few days Tajikistan's law enforcement agencies have confiscated both ordinary firearms and combat vehicles, as well as sophisticated military hardware unavailable from the arms depots of C.I.S. armies.

Zukhurov said although according to some sources the population kept 35 thousand unregistered pieces of firearms that figure looked "unduly over-stated" to him. However, he admitted that quite a few unauthorized pieces of firearms were in private hands and there was no centralized accounting or a service that could cope with that job.

Uzbekistan

Security Cooperation Accord Signed With Kazakhstan

LD0501075193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0732 GMT 5 Jan 93

[By KAZTAG special correspondent Vladimir Akimov for TASS]

[Text] Tashkent January 5 TASS—An agreement on cooperation and interaction has been signed as a result of talks between delegations from the National Security Committee of Kazakhstan and the National Security Service of Uzbekistan.

The agreement will enable the security bodies of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan to use more actively on the legal basis the available potential for cooperation and interaction in the fields of intelligence and counterintelligence, combating terrorism, drug trafficking, organised crime and corruption.

The agreement also provides for measures to upgrade social protection of security services agents, members of their families and pensioners.

This is the fifth bilateral agreement signed by the national security committee of Kazakhstan with the special services of other Commonwealth member countries. Earlier, Kazakhstan signed agreements with Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Ukraine.

Foreign Investment in Construction Industry Viewed

OW0301145293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1414 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Uzbek cabinet of ministers has approved the plan to draw in foreign investments to develop the production of building materials. Presumably, in 1993 foreign investments will total about $700 million, Interfax was told by chairman of the state Uzstroimaterialy concern, Inom Iskandarov.

The plan calls for re-orienting the republic from imports to domestic sources of raw materials, ending raw material imports from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Ukraine. According to Iskandarov, the republic has all the

necessary components to produce building materials, along with known mineral deposits adequate to ensure the branch 150 years of intensive development.

Within five years the concern plans to become a large supplier of building materials to other Commonwealth states and foreign countries.

According to Iskandarov, Uzstroimaterialy has already started supplying European countries with Uzbek marble and granite. Countries in Southeast Asia are ready to annually buy 1.5 million tons of cement from the republic.

The concern plans to build rail lines from Central Asia to India, Iran, China and Pakistan to provide the republic with easier access to international markets. The Uzbek government's foreign investment plan proposes that the republic send $5 million worth of blocks of natural construction stone to Germany in exchange for linoleum production lines already early in the new year. The United Arab Emirates plan to help build a soda factory in Karakalpaktan. Germany will provide the technology to make fake marble at plant which should be created in the Samarkand region.

Ration Card Procedures Maintained

LD0101075393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0600 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] In the new year, the procedure for the sale of goods involving the use of ration cards with coupons will be maintained in Uzbekistan. This measure for the protection of the republic's consumer market has been provided by a decision of Uzbekistan's Cabinet of Ministers, signed by President Islam Karimov.

At the same time, starting 1 January, cards with coupons of a new type are being introduced while the previous ones are being annulled. While previously the coupons had a value ranging from 35 to 500 coupons, the value of the new ones range from 150 to 2,000 coupons. [sentence as heard] Goods priced over 5,000 rubles can be sold both for coupons and on the basis of check books.

Armenia

'Relative Calm,' Some Skirmishes in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC0401195293 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1830 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] KARABAKH NEWS AGENCY cites self-defense forces headquarters as reporting that relative calm prevailed in almost all the regions of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and along the Lachin humanitarian corridor last night.

Despite those reports, however, massive concentrations of troops and military hardware have been observed gathering recently on the Azerbaijani side, particularly in Kelbadzharskiy, Zangelanskiy, and Fizulinskiy Rayons.

Azerbaijani Army units were the first to disrupt the relative calm in Martuninskiy Rayon yesterday, launching a large-scale attack on the Armenian self-defense forces from Yeraskhavan, which had been occupied by Azerbaijanis and turned into a military base. The Armenian fighters halted the enemy's offensive and launched a successful counteroffensive. By evening, they had completely liberated Yeraskhavan. The Armenian self-defense units chased the panicked enemy armed units outside the borders of Martuninskiy Rayon. The enemy suffered substantial losses in men and material.

Reports from Stepanakert state that Gadrut came under rocket and artillery shelling from Azerbaijan's Fizulinskiy Rayon at 1115 today. The shelling caused new material destruction in the city. According to preliminary data, two children were killed and two residents were injured. The Armenian self-defense detachments returned fire and forced the enemy to halt the shelling.

The Armenian Defense Ministry Press Service informed us that relative calm prevailed on all the border regions of Armenia last night and today. No serious incidents were reported.

Azerbaijan

Armenians Launch 'Large-Scale Offensive'

LD0401181993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1727 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev]

[Text] Baku, 4 January (TASS)—The forces of an Armenian expeditionary corps undertook a large-scale offensive today in the south of Karabakh in the direction of the republic's Fizuli Rayon. According to the information of the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry's information and analysis center, "in the first stage of offensive operations the enemy succeeded in seizing the village of Ashagy-Veysalli, which is located here. Units of the Azerbaijani army, seizing the initiative, stopped the progress of the Armenian units and by launching a counterattack drove them out of the settlement previously taken." The defense department reported that hostilities are continuing in the south of the Karabakh region.

Last night a number of border villages in Azerbaijan's Tauz and Zangelan rayons were subjected to massive shelling from the territory of Armenia. There is considerable destruction.

Bases Destroyed by Armenians

OW0401163793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Fierce clashes continued on the border of the Martuni district of Nagorno-Karabakh and the Fizuli district of Azerbaijan Monday afternoon [4 January]. According to the headquarters of Nagorno-Karabakh's self-defence, the Armenian forces counter-attacked in response to the Azeri offensive launched Monday morning. A number of Azeri bases and fire emplacements were wiped out. Early reports say the Azeris lost 150 men killed. The Armenian forces seized two tanks and one armored personnel carrier. On the Armenian side six men were killed and 5 others injured.

State of Emergency Declared

OW0401191093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Elchibey has declared a one-month state of emergency in the Agdam region of Azerbaijan. The measure is in response of what was described as "Armenian aggression and continued fighting there."

Guseynov Reacts to Bush, Yeltsin Call on Karabakh

NC0401144593 Baku AZERTAC in Azeri 1021 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] Baku, 4 Jan (AZERTAC)—Commenting on the statement by the Russian and U.S. Presidents on the resolution of the Karabakh conflict, Azerbaijani State Secretary Panakh Guseynov said the following in a news conference today: "It seems that the Karabakh problem, which is the main cause of the armed clashes between Armenia and Azerbaijan, will be resolved on the battlefield and not in Moscow or Washington."

The state secretary informed reporters that the Armenian expeditionary corps launched a new large-scale attack toward Azerbaijan's Fizulinskiy Rayon this afternoon. In the state secretary's opinion, "this confirms again that the Armenian side is attempting to resolve the conflict only through war."

Nevertheless, Panakh Guseynov said that "the statement made by the leaders of two powerful countries is being studied in depth by the Azerbaijani leadership."

Official Criticizes U.S. Senate for Denial of Aid

OW0501115093 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1550 GMT 2 Jan 93

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] (Nami) Kakhundov, chief of the International Department of the Republic's Supreme Soviet, in an interview with a correspondent of KHABAR-SERVIS, said the U.S. Senate adopted a decision lacking in objectivity and wisdom, and without knowing the actual situation.

The issue is about the U.S. Senate's refusal of humanitarian aid for Azerbaijan until the blockade of Armenia is lifted. This is in connection with the Azerbaijan parliament's recent appeal to the U.S. Senate in which the history of the Karabakh conflict was methodically detailed for the first time.

Guseynov Views Iranian, Turkish Position on Karabakh

LD0401153393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1455 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By AZERTAC correspondents Ziyadkhan Gasanov and Sabir Mirzoyev for TASS]

[Text] Baku January 4 TASS—The settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict largely depends on the position of Turkey and Iran, Azerbaijani State Secretary Panakh Guseynov said.

Speaking at a news conference on Monday, Guseynov said that "at present one should speak not about the Karabakh conflict, but about the Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan."

He believes if Turkey and Iran share this point of view, "Armenia will have to abandon its aggressive policy and sit down at a negotiating table."

Guseynov, who recently visited Iran, stressed that "the leadership of the country (Iran) is reconsidering its position on the issue." He said the latest statements by Iranian top officials also show that Iranian-Armenian relations will develop normally only if Armenia stops the war against Azerbaijan.

Guseynov Announces President Elchibey To Visit Iran

OW0401180793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707 GMT 4 Jan 93

[From the 5 January "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Abulfaz Elchibey is likely to visit Tehran for talks with the Iranian leaders, Azeri State Secretary Panakh Guseynov informed INTERFAX. The agreement on holding an Azeri-Iranian summit was reached during the president's [as received] recent working visit to Tehran, although the date and place of the summit have not been defined yet, he said.

At a press conference in Baku on Monday [4 January] the state secretary reported that 10 preliminary protocols on economic, trade, scientific, and cultural cooperation were signed in Tehran. According to Guseynov, the parties are continuing to agree the text of the treaty on friendship and cooperation which is to be signed by the leaders of two countries.

Having noted that today Azerbaijan is interested most of all in the great economic potential of the southern neighbor, Guseynov said that Iran is the greatest foreign economic partner for Azerbaijan not considering the CIS states. He pointed out that the volume of the foreign trade between two countries has reached $400 million a year. In particular, Iran proposed to Azerbaijan a large number of automobile and agricultural equipment on more beneficial provisions than other countries. Guseynov noted that these vehicles match the world standards. He also underlined the important role of the communications on the territory of Iran to deblock the energy transmission line Baku-Nakhichevan. The state secretary pointed out that during the meeting of the experts representing two countries scheduled for January 12-19 the parties will discuss the issues concerning the construction of a railway from Azerbaijan to Nakhichevan via the Iranian territory.

While discussing the Armenian-Azeri conflict, the Baku delegation drew attention of Tehran to the fact that the conflict, often called a Karabakh one, is an aggression unleashed by Armenia against Azerbaijan. According to Baku, the correct understanding of the essence of the conflict will near the terms of its settlement.

In response to an INTERFAX correspondent's question concerning the reaction of the Azeri leadership to the joint statement on Nagorno-Karabakh voiced by Yeltsin and Bush, the Russian and American Presidents, the state secretary said that at present they are examining this statement. Presenting his own point of view, he also added that the key to the solution of the Azeri interior problems lies not in the attitudes of other states but in Azerbaijan itself.

Health Minister Signs Protocol With Iran

NC0501070293 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] The protocol that Health Minister Rakhim Guseynov and Health Minister Reza Malekzadeh signed in Tehran has given an opportunity to Azerbaijan and Iran to focus more on scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries. In a statement to an AZERTAC correspondent after returning from Tehran to Baku, Guseynov said that the protocol will serve as a basis for relations of the two sides from 1993 to 1995. He also said that the protocol calls for the holding of two regional

conferences every year, the exchange of experts, and the establishment of scientific cooperation between the two countries.

Guseynov said that the two countries will exchange 20 doctors to work and gain experience in clinics and hospitals in Baku and Tehran for six months every year. Azerbaijan will send 100 doctors to work in Iran in accordance with the contracts they will sign there in 1993.

The protocol also calls for the setting up of joint establishments for the production of pharmaceutical drugs and medical equipment.

Guseynov visited [place-name indistinct] in Tehran, where 25 Azerbaijani citizens are receiving medical treatment.

Report Discusses Economic Relationship With Iran

NC0401161193 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1107 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] Baku 4.01.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Iran is becoming one of the biggest economic partners of Azerbaijan, said at the press-conference Panakh Guseynov, state secretary of Azerbaijan Republic. 7 protocols on cooperation in the field of education, health protection, transport, customs and banking activity. [sentence as received] Constructing of railway branch between two countries, purchase more than 170 cars of different marks in Iran, exchange of students and teachers are implied in these protocols. Correspondent accounts will be opened at Iranian banks, more than 50 Iran-Azerbaijan joint ventures will be created, the trade turnover will be up to half billion dollars. During the talks with Foreign Minister of Iran Mr. Velayati and his deputy, Iranian part estimated the actions of Armenians in Karabakh and in the border regions as aggressive.

Humanitarian Aid Arrives From Iran

NC0401161393 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0552 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] This morning 30 trucks from Iran crossed the Azeri border. They carry humanitarian aid which includes over 200 tons of flour, 60 tons of fruit and other foodstuffs, ASSA-IRADA correspondent reported by phone from the border town of Astara (Azerbaijan). The aid was initiated and organized by Irani Ambassador to Azerbaijan 'Ali Asghar Nahavandian who accompanies the aid caravan together with the heads of 3 Irani regions of Gilan, Astara (Iran), Anzaly. Essential aid rendered to Azeri refugees from border Sadarak village becomes a tradition. By 3.00-4.00 P.M. the trucks are to arrive in Baku. There a symbolic act of sacrifice (Muslims traditionally cut sheep) will be committed at the city central square of freedom.

Repercussions of Arrest of Union Leaders Noted

NC0401161493 Baku TURAN in English 1004 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] Baku 4 Jan (TURAN)—Yesterday the representatives of the Soviet of Working collective of the Sattarkhan machine-building plant (formerly Lieutenant Schmidt plant), have met with the Chairman of the Azerbaijani Parliament Isa Kamberov. In the course of the meeting the main point of discussion was the releasing of prisoners arrested on December 31 for the attempt to conduct unsanctioned meeting in Baku. There were arrested a number of the activists of the Association of Independent Workers of Azerbaijan (the AIWA), with the chairman Neymat Panakhli among them.

The representatives have announced a decision to picket the building of the presidential office, the leadership does not release all prisoners today. [sentence as received]

Yesterday the AIWA has announced at the press-conference that the number of the prisoners has reached 200 men. By the official datas, 30 men are arrested.

The deputy chairman of the Socio-Democratical Party Zardush Alizade has classified the police's suppression of the attempt to conducting meeting and the arrest of the AIWA activists as the violation of the civil rights and freedoms.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Endorses Continued Russian Military Contacts

OW0401175593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707 GMT 4 Jan 93

[From the 5 January "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his interview for the Georgian Radio on Monday [4 January], Eduard Shevardnadze said he "attaches no special importance" to the meeting of the Georgian and Russian defense ministers in Moscow on New Year's Eve. In the meantime, he believes the contacts between the military officials of the two countries should be continued.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: At their meeting in Moscow last Thursday, the Russian and Georgian defense ministers evaded the issue of transfer to Georgia of the military inventory belonging to the Russian units stationed in Georgia. Mr. Kitovani reasons that "this issue falls under the parliamentary prerogative," while General Grachev is attributing it to the competence of the governments. The parties also sidestepped the issue of transfer to Georgia of the Russian military base in Poti. According to the information available at INTERFAX, Mr. Kitovani insisted on the removal of Russian troops from the zone of the Georgian Abkhazian conflict, raising no objections to the Russian troops' further stationing on the territory of Georgia. The Russian defense minister protested to Georgia against unlawful actions with respect to the Russian troops stationed there. The ministers agreed to set up an expert commission to monitor the activities of the Russian and Georgian servicemen in the conflict zone in Abkhazia. In the words of Mr. Kitovani, the commission

would be expected to draft proposals for the governments of the two countries, regarding the exigency of the Russian Army units' further stay in Abkhazia.

Eduard Shevardnadze said he had an optimistic view of the prospects for the settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, attributing his optimism, first and foremost, to the impressions he formed during his trip to Abkhazia on the New Year's Eve. The Georgian leader said he would present his own approach to settling the conflict in the region in one of his future public appearances. "We will have to live side by side with the Abkhazians, one way or the other," Mr. Shevardnadze emphasized. In his words, at its Tuesday meeting, the Defense Council will discuss the measures Georgia would have to resort to, in order to deter the Abkhazian artillery fire attacks on Sukhumi. He, however, did not specify any of the possible decisions.

IF Note: According to the report provided by the press center of the Georgian Ministry of Defense [MOD], Abkhazian artillery resumed its fire attacks at the living quarters in Sukhumi on Sunday and Monday morning, causing no casualties, but inflicting damage on the houses. The Georgian MOD press center avers that the artillery fire attack was launched from the territory of the Russian military unit deployed in the village Nizhnyaya Eshera. The Georgian MOD warned the Russian Army Command that if such fire attacks continue, Georgian artillery will have to open fire at the territory of the Russian unit.

Mr. Shevardnadze also attaches special emphasis to his forthcoming first official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran, as the head of an independent republic. At present, the sides are preparing for signing a number of highly important bilateral agreements in political and economic spheres.

Shevardnadze To Visit Iran, Expand Cooperation

AU0501092793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1605 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] In an interview for Georgian radio, Eduard Shevardnadze touched upon [word indistinct] his forthcoming visit to Iran, the first visit to that country by the head of the independent state. He said that he pins certain hopes upon the visit and believes that the trip to Iran will be successful and will expand the possibilities for cooperation between the (?neighboring states).

UN Urged To Send Peacekeepers to Abkhazia

LD0401202093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1925 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations January 4 TASS—Georgia has urged the UN Security Council to adopt a resolution on the "immediate dispatch of UN peace-keeping forces to the Abkhazian region."

The request was made in a letter to UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali from Georgian Parliamentary Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze.

Shevardnadze said the situation in the republic has changed a little after the UN Security Council discussed the conflict in Abkhazia and adopted a respective resolution.

He suggested that the UN Security Council should discuss the situation in the zone of the conflict again in mid-January and call on the republics neighbouring Georgia to "support efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Abkhazian problem and to refrain from any activities which could further escalate confrontation."

Abkhazian Formations Shell Sukhumi 1-4 Jan

LD0401215393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] On Monday [4 January] the Council of Ministers of Abkhazia issued a statement which says that on New Year's night and in the first days of 1993 there has been a significant increase in the actions of Abkhazian armed formations, which have started the systematic shelling of Sukhumi.

The statement says that the most intensive shelling took place throughout the night of 3-4 January. Five explosions rang out in the immediate vicinity of the buildings of the house of government, the city hall, the hospital, and the Abkhazian dramatic theater. There are new casualties, including three Russians. The Council of Ministers of Abkhazia has warned that if the shelling of Sukhumi continues, adequate measures will be taken regarding the town of Gudauta and its suburbs.

Georgian Troops Launch Attack

LD0501101193 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 5 Jan 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Abkhaz defense headquarters has reported that at 0300 this morning Georgian troops on the Eshera-Sukhumi sector of the front began a powerful artillery bombardment of Abkhaz armed forces' positions and of the settlements of Gvandra and Psyrtskha and the town of Novyy Afon. By 0900, 12 wounded had been brought to the Gudauta Military Hospital, eight of whom were civilians from the village of Gvandra. The Abkhaz armed forces are responding with artillery fire aimed at the firing points of Georgian troops. At this time—that is, 1100 Moscow time—the exchange of artillery fire has grown in intensity.

'About 100' Abkhazians Killed

OW0501143393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1419 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the Georgian state Minister on Abkhazia, Georgiy Khaindrava, reported to INTERFAX that on Tuesday the detachments of the Georgian army repulsed the offense of the Abkhazian forces against Sukhumi. According to the press center, the Abkhazian military detachments failed even to cross the river of Gumista in force. The Georgian source reports about 100 Abkhazians who were killed during the attempted offense.

Meanwhile on Tuesday morning the Abkhazian sources including the press services of the Defense Ministry and the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet reported about an offense of the Abkhazian forces in the region of Sukhumi. According to their information, the Abkhazian armed forces began a counterattack at 10.00 o'clock in the morning and forced the river of Gumista. At 12.00 o'clock a fierce fighting was going on in the northern-western part of Sukhumi, the Abkhazian capital. The wounded and killed people were transported to the Gudauta hospital. There were 18 wounded and 2 killed fighters of the Abkhazian armed forces as of 12.00 o'clock on Tuesday.

Estonia

Russian Cabinet Reshuffle Delays Ministerial Talks

OW0401171293 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1629 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Preparations of summit talks between Estonia and Russia are being delayed for "objective reasons" as is a meeting between the prime ministers of the two countries, a Foreign Ministry official in Tallinn, Ago Tiiman, told BF [BALTFAX].

He said the delay follows a government changeover in Moscow, and that members of the Estonian Government's working group had so far been unable to meet with Russian Government officials.

Early last month, Estonian and Russian Deputy Prime Ministers Trivimi Velliste (also foreign minister) and Vladimir Shumeyko reached agreement on a prime ministers's meeting at the beginning of January and an Estonian-Russian summit in the middle of this month.

Tallinn Develops Agricultural Strategy for 1990's

OW0401184793 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1631 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A new long-term program developed by Estonia's Agriculture Ministry is designed to ensure sufficient production of staple foodstuffs within the republic to meet the needs of the republic's residents. The program is to be implemented during the remaining part of this century.

When outlining the strategy to the ministry's personnel on Monday [4 January], Agriculture Minister Jaak Leetsaar noted that one of the main problems in this area now is the enormous gap between the prices for food produced in the republic and the purchasing power of the population. Many imported foodsuffs are more competitive than domestically produced foods, and are in greater demand.

The new strategy, which was drawn up with the support of German experts, is intended to protect the internal market by means of import quotas and customs barriers, the minister said, adding that agricultural producers should take more active steps to sell their products directly to the consumer. This, he believes, will make it possible to eliminate unnecessary barriers between the producer and the end user, stabilize the incomes of farmers, and ultimately enable farmers to earn as much as industrial workers.

Social Affairs Ministry Established

LD0401170593 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Excerpt] The government endorsed a statute for the Ministry of Social Affairs today. In connection with the endorsement of the present statute the Ministry of Social Affairs will be functioning from 1 February. It will entail a merger of the health, social security, and labor ministries. [passage omitted]

Lithuania

Ambassador to U.S. Decides To Run for Presidency

OW0401171393 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1629 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuanian Ambassador in the U.S. Stasys Lozoraitis has submitted appropriate papers to the electoral commission in Vilnius to be registered as candidate for presidential elections.

68-year old Lozoraitis who will contest the election as independent is widely seen as one of the main rivals of acting president and leader of the Democratic Labour Party Algirdas Brazauskas. Lozoraitis has the backing of nine right-wing parties and groups as well as the opposition leader, Vytautas Landsbergis, who said he would not run for [the] presidency.

[In a related 160-word report carried in the same Moscow BALTFAX (BF) transmission received via Tokyo KYODO at 1630 GMT on 4 January, BF quotes Lozoraitis as saying: "We'll try to give Lithuania a shake." In a conversation with a BF correspondent, Lozoraitis says he decided to enter the race "last night after the opposition leader in parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis, announced that he would not run for the presidency." The report also says that Lozoraitis promises his campaign will be "entirely different from that of his rivals," adding that he will begin campaigning next week after he returns from the United States. He is scheduled to leave for Washington on 5 January to sign "an agreement on free imports of 200,000 tonnes of U.S. corn."

["Also submitting registration papers on Monday [4 January] is 66-year-old retired irrigation engineer Kazimieras Petraitis who leads one of the smaller parties, the Republican Party.

["Other candidates wanting to run for presidency include member of the Sejm Kazimieras Antanavicius, himself an economist, and lawyer Romualdas Neverdauskas of Kaunas, who is still to submit his registration papers.

["Chairman of the election commission Vaclovas Litvinas told BF that January 5 was the deadline for the registration of candidates who are given until January 20 to collect at least 20,000 signatures in their support to qualify.]

Government Bans Export of Nonferrous Metals

WS0401130093 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1328 GMT 31 Dec 92

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 155]

[Text] 31 December 1992—Due to the constantly increasing number of the thefts of non-ferrous metals, the Lithuanian Government has decided to ban the export of copper and its waste abroad. Licenses for the reexport of non-ferrous metals will be given by a special commission. The decision provides that copper and its waste could be reexported only by those enterprises, which have imported it to Lithuania. For the reexport of non-ferrous metals, their fusions and waste they will have to pay 10 per cent of the price fixed by the trade agreement.